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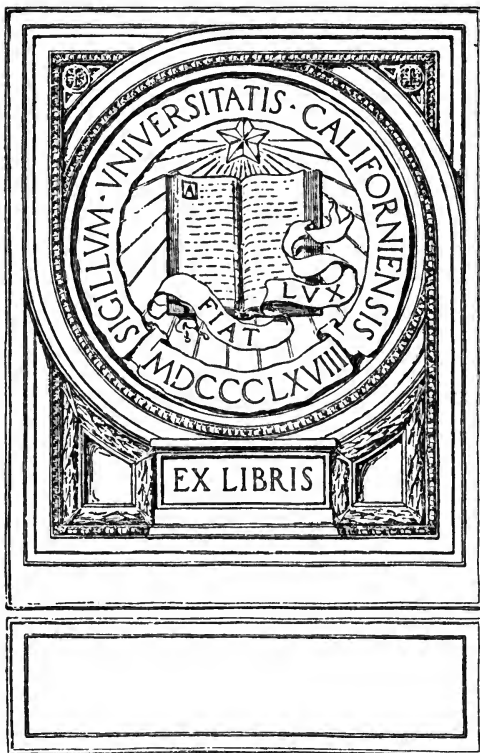
STIMATED GUIDE

OF LIMERICK

TO NEIGHBOURHOOD



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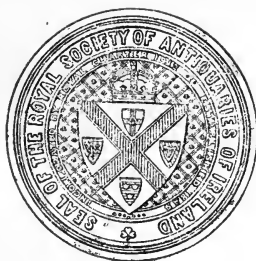
No. VII.

THE Council wish it to be distinctly understood that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Society and here printed, except so far as the General Rules of the Society extend.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF LIMERICK AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

BY

T. J. WESTROPP, PRESIDENT ; R. A. S. MACALISTER
AND G. U. MACNAMARA



DUBLIN
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INTRODUCTION

This Handbook was originally published for the use of the members of the Society on their visit to Linnerick and its neighbourhood, June 26th to 30th, 1916.

The success of previous volumes has led the Council to believe that this account of a most interesting district will, like its predecessors, be acceptable to others interested in the history and antiquities of Ireland.

The Handbooks already issued are:—

- I. *Dunsany, Tara and Glendalough* (1895).
- II. *The Western Islands of Ireland, Northern Portion* (1895).
- IV. *The Western Islands of Scotland* (1899).
- IV. *The Western Islands of Scotland* (1899).
- V. *The Antiquities of Northern Clare* (1900).
- VI. *The Northern, Western, and Southern Islands* (1905).

ILLUSTRATIONS

* Lent by the Royal Irish Academy.

† Lent by the North Munster Archæological Society.

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ERRATA.

Introduction, *for* " IV " *read* " III, The Western Islands of Ireland, Southern Portion (1897)."

Page 7. Another derivation of the name Limerick is from " Liacessa Lomanaig, the flagstone of Lomanach's waterfall " (Irische Texte, ed. Stokes and Windisch p. 268).

Page 25, *for* " Quinlinan " *read* " Hyffernan of Quinlinlion."

Page 90, line 24, *for* " Quin " *read* " Quins."

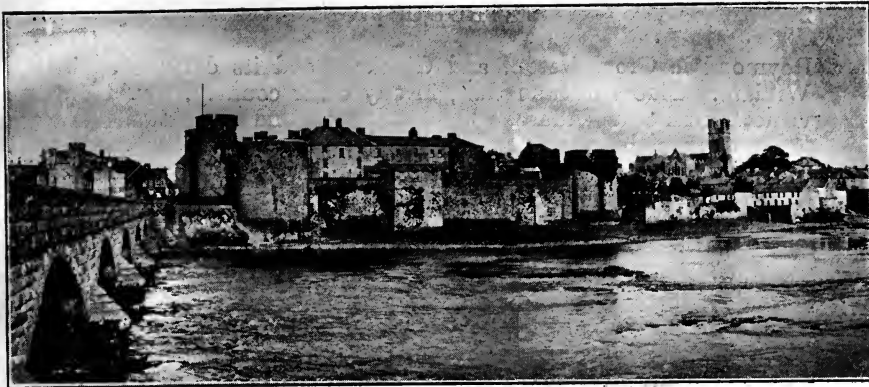
Page 94, line 44, *for* " Donall " *read* " Donat."

Page 99, last lines, *read* " who [both] caused me."

Page 100, line 5, *read* " Thoirdealbhagh."

Page 120 (" Mote " Section), *for* " West " *read* " North-west," *for* " bane " *read* " bank."

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LIMERICK

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LOCH GUR	<i>R. A. S. Macalister</i>

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION, ANCIENT DIVISIONS, AND HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

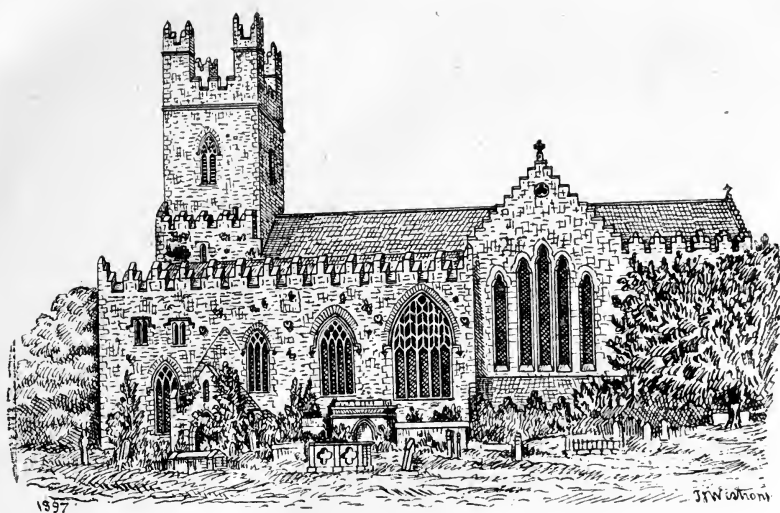
THE district of Limerick is of the highest interest both historically and archaeologically, and abounds with beautiful scenery. Within easy reach are, on one side, the great Bronze Age hill town of Moghane, its origin and destruction lost in the night of the unrecorded past, perhaps five to seven centuries before Christ, and on the other, the great monoliths and circles at Loch Gur, perhaps preceding the time of Moghane itself as much as it precedes our era; fields of legendary battles, as Samhain and Knocklong; and holier sites where St Patrick preached at Singland, where Neassan and Mainchin founded their monasteries at Limerick and Mungret, and saints of the Dal gCais, Molua and Flannan, theirs, at Killaloe; where Senan the Hoary, brother of the founder of Iniscatha in A.D. 490, is revered still by hundreds of pilgrims at his church, well, and rag-decked tree, by the falls of the Shannon. Limerick itself is the centre, with all its memories of Norse and Danish Vikings, and Dalcassian and Plantagenet princes, of the menace of King Robert Bruce and his brother—of its captures by Brian,

Reymond le Gros, Ireton, and Gineckell, and its defence against William. Places abound that, in any other country, would draw visitors from afar—Adare, where the castle and three monasteries nestle among the woods on the yellow Maigue; Askeaton, one of the chief houses of the hapless “Rebel Earl” of Desmond, where the great rebellion, which desolated all Munster, first blazed up; Kilmallock, “quaint old town” of abbey and towers, with its lovely background of the Ballyhoura Mountains, and Killaloe, “beautiful in situation,” among the great heathery hills, at the end of Loch Derg. Picturesque and important ruins (hardly ruins, though roofless) are met with on every side like Bunratty Castle, with its blood-stained record of the Norman De Clares and O Briens, a castle which the Italian Archbishop Rinuccini (accustomed to his own beautiful country and noble buildings) yet could mention with admiration, and the tall towered Quin, with its fine cloister, to which the way is clung through two stormy centuries until the dawn of better days. The fault of the district is that it confuses by its wealth of remains and historic memories, and would require weeks, rather than days, to see it in any completeness, and a large volume, rather than this little handbook, to describe it.

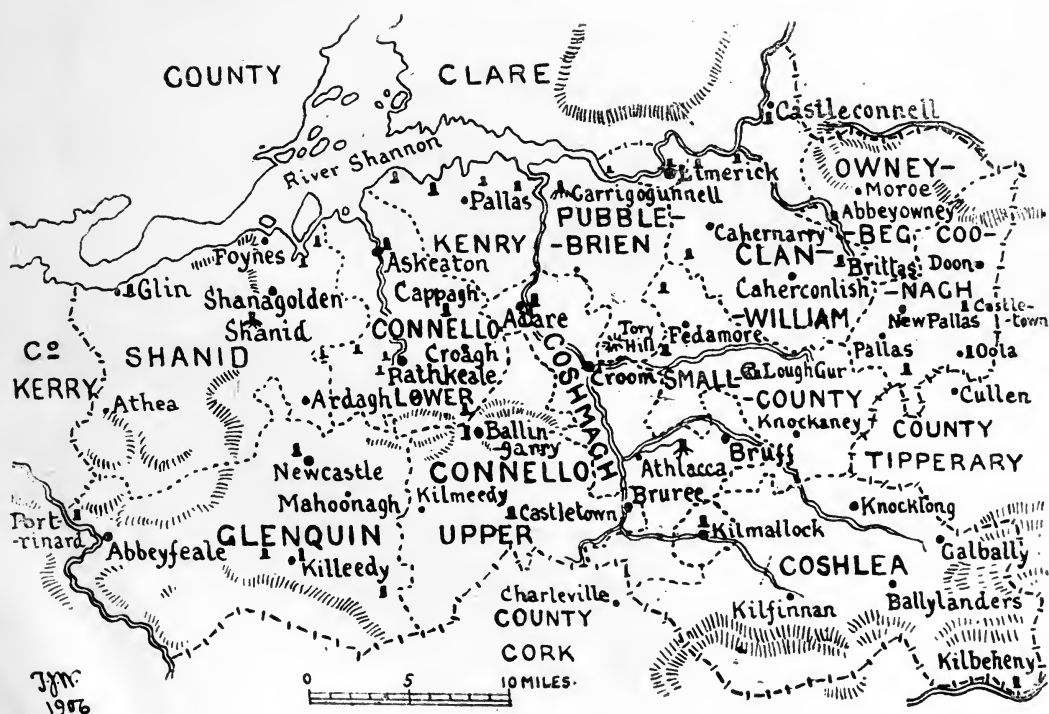
ANCIENT DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

For an intelligent study of a district one must know a little about its ancient divisions and history. So numerous were these tribe lands in the scene of our visit that to give their bounds and history at any length would cumber our guide book. Suffice it to note that Co. Limerick is, roughly speaking, the earliest “Thomond,” Tuadh Mumha, or North Munster, which name got narrowed more and more till it coincided in the end with the present Co. Clare. The ruling house in the historic period was the Dal gCais, whose princes eventually became known as O Briens. The whole of Clare and the land round the city of Limerick, as far south as Carnarr¹ (Carn Fhearadhaigh), belonged to Connacht, but, at the farther glimmer of dawn of historic legend, the powerful prince, Lughaidh Meann, had made raid after raid till he had extended Munster’s borders northward to the present bounds of Galway. His hold was of the slightest and remained so till, after his death, his son Conall Eachluath contrived to get the land as an *eric* (or compensation) from Connacht for the poisoning of his foster father King Crimthann, A.D. 377. The struggle was no slight one, the formidable warrior, King Fiachra of Iros Domhnaigh, resenting the attempts of the people of Thomond to get foothold in his province, in the central plain of Clare, led strong forces across the Shannon. He however received a mortal wound, in what was probably a drawn battle with the Caenraighe, of Kenry, about

¹ O’Donovan identifies it (by a strange forgetfulness of its being on the north mearing of the Dal gais), with Seefin on the mountains of the extreme southern border. The name is found used for Carnarr in old records down to the important rental of the Bourkes in 1540, “Carran Fhearadhaigh.” The Ordnance Survey Maps (under some misleading influence) stereotype the old (and inexcusable) mistake in their latest issue.



ST MARY'S CATHEDRAL, LIMERICK



MAP OF CO. LIMERICK

A.D. 380, and his less able successors left the Dal gCais to consolidate their gains up to the Burren Hills by about A.D. 420. The people of Connacht made more than one great attempt to regain the land; the last (circa A.D. 620—630), in which they penetrated so far south as Knocklong, was defeated by King Dioma of the Dal gCais so disastrously that they never made any other serious attempt. The successors of Dioma ruled at Dun Claire and Bruree; a branch which eventually became the ruling line of Thomond, settling in the Shannon Valley, near Killaloe. The local history is extremely vague and enigmatical, all disconnected fragments; new actors appear, win a battle and never are named again in the district; thus we hear of the battle of Cuillene, in A.D. 552, where the Corca Oithe, in S.W. Co. Limerick, were defeated, through the prayer of St Ita of Cluaincredhail (Kilkeedy); of a battle of Carn Fhearadhaigh (Carnary) where Failbhe Flann, in circa A.D. 640, defeated Guaire Aidhne, whose brother-in-law, Forannán,¹ was titular King of Thomond and who probably facilitated, if he did not reinforce, the invader; this probably led to the sons of Enna King of Munster, and the King of Ui Fidgeinte, of western Co. Limerick, defeating Guaire on his own ground at Carn Chonaill, in A.D. 646; while a little earlier, in A.D. 639, Aenghus Liathana, of Glen Damhain, defeated Maelduin, son of Bennan, at Cathair chinn chonn, or Rockbarton. What bearing these battles have on each other is unknown; bare lists of the Kings of Dioma's line and some casual records of the Ui Fidgeinti chiefs from A.D. 646, and of Brughrigh (not of its princes) from A.D. 715 form almost all our other material for the restless period before the Norse Invasion in the 9th century. The rest probably perished in the overthrow (and evidently extermination) of the Kings of Bruree, about A.D. 830. Far more important than their over lords of the Dal gCais, at least in the records, are the Ui Fidgeinti of the western half of the county. They succeeded in withstanding the first onslaught of the Northernmen, on whom they and their kindred, the Ui Chonaill, inflicted a terrific defeat, at Shanid, in A.D. 831. They probably were held in little check by the Northern princes at Killaloe, who indeed had hardly won the position of kings till recognised by Fedlimidh, King of Cashel, on his hostile visit to Lachtna at Killaloe about A.D. 840; certainly when that line began to assert (or re-assert) its claim to the kingship of Cashel it found betrayers rather than supporters in the Ui Fidgeinti, whose chief seat was then at the old fortress of the royal race at Bruree. The genius of Brian was however too strong for the race of Donnabhan, and his descendant, Domhnall, King of Munster, chased the O Connells, O Donovans and O Sullivans out of their old territory into Kerry and West Cork in 1174, a most fatal victory, as thereby he left all his southern territory open to the Normans. Domhnall died in 1194, after which the Norman power overspread Co. Limerick, and even penetrated along the north bank of the Shannon to the Bunratty river in Ui Aimrid.

The earliest light on the district of our travels is that

¹ He was of the Ui gCaissin (or "MacNamara") line of the Dal gCais and reigned at Tulla, in East Clare, where his hostility to St. Mochulla has gained him an unflattering record about A.D. 630.

found in the Atlas of Ptolemy, A.D. 150. It gives the Senos, or Shannon; the Ganganoi tribes (the Irish Gann, Genann and Sengann) at its mouth; a "city" Rigia (variously identified as Bruree, Limerick, and Athenry) and Makolikon—which, strangely, suggests Cil Mocheallog, or Kilmallock, though the latter name is said to be derived from a saintly cleric Mocheallog. It is suggested that the great wasted town of Moghane may be Ptolemy's Magnata (Magen) but the gold ornaments of its plunder may date 600 years or more earlier than the Alexandrian geographer, and "Magnata" seems to have lain much farther north, perhaps at Moyne, in Mayo. The old Dalcassian kingdom and its palaces (as we saw) lay round Kilmallock at Bruree and Dunclaire in Coshnagh and western Coshlea, which was the later district of Fontymchyll. The Deisi tribes lay in Deisbeg, round Bruff and Loch Gur; they were reputed to be immigrants from Meath, like the Deisi in Waterford. The very ancient races of the Uaithne and Aradha, with the Ui Cuanach, lay from Coonagh and Oweybeg up to Owey and Ara; but the Aradha originally dwelt on the Saimer or "Morning Star" River. The Tuath Luimnigh lay along the Luimneach estuary as far as the Maigue, and gave their name to the City of Limerick; their chief sept, the Ui gConaing or O Gunnings are recalled by the castles of Carriag Ua Conaing and Caislean Ua Conaing, now Carrigogunnell and Castle Connell; there seems to have been a tribe named Aes Chluana near the former place. A colony of the Burkes gave their name to Clanwilliam. Beyond Kenry, the Gebtini, another very early "pre-Milesian" tribe, were settled at Askeaton (Eas Geibhtine and Inis Geibhtine). Another group of "Firbolg" and non-Milesian tribes appear, the Asail, near Tory Hill, or Dromasail, the Calraighe,¹ at Pallas Greine, and the Mairtínigh,² thence to Emly. To the west lay the great kindred tribes of the Ui Chonaill and Ui Fidgeinti in Connello. There were several petty tribes, usually only remembered for having given their names to various lands; all of very uncertain affinity. The chief of these were the Ui Mhaille of Crewmalley or Knocknegall; the Muscraidhe Chuirc of Kilpeacon, the Cenel Mekin at Monasteranenagh; the Ui Colochur, of Crecora; the Corca Muicheat, of Corcamohide; the Corca Oiche, near Kilkeedy and Glenquin; the Ui Fairchealla (Frawleys), of Ballyfraley near Newcastle; the Ui Baithin (O Meechans), near Ardagh; the Uibí Rosa (Ui Rosa or O Ross) in Iveruss; the Fir Tamhnaighe, of Mahoonagh (Magh Tamhnaighe) and the Mac Ceire, at Lismakeery, Save the Corca Muicheat and Corca Oiche they were rather families than septs. North of the Shannon we pass through the lands of the pre-Milesian Tradraighe, in Tradree, from Bunratty to Dromoland, while the Mac Namaras, the Ui gCaisin, the second branch

¹ The Dilraighe, Margraighe, Sibenraighe and Calraighe.

² Todd places the Mairtínigh at Colman's Well, on the south border; OHuidhrin round Emly, but, as there was a colony of the tribe in S.W. Clare, it was more probably there that "the (Norse) fleet of Luimneach plundered the Mairtínigh of Mumhan" (? Tuadh-Mumhan) as mentioned in the Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill (ed. Todd) pp. 15 and 227, and note on p. xlii. OHuidhrin was taken far too seriously in the archaeology of the mid-nineteenth century, for he entirely ignores existing and even older circumstances.

of the Dal gCais, held the country from Quin north eastward and a branch of the Royal house of the Dal gCais from at least A.D. 570,¹ occupied the Shannon Valley up to Killaloe and became the later O Briens, named from their great King Brian "of the Tribute."

A few words on the hills which fringe our view from Limerick. The purple ridge north of the Shannon is Slieve Bernagh or Cratloe. At its western end, towards Bunratty, was the vast oak forest so famous that we are told that the oaks were imported to Westminster to make the roof of its Hall. The more eastern part is "Sliabh Oidhídh an Ríogh," where King Crimthann died poisoned by his sister, in Glennagross, about A.D. 377, whence the claim of his foster son, Conall Eachluath, to Co. Clare as an *eric*. Up the valley we see Thountinna, where Fintan slept so soundly that the Deluge did not drown him. Opposite to it, above Killaloe, is Cragliath, the home of the great Banshee, Aibhinn, or Aibhell (who appeared to King Brian before the battle of Clontarf), and the site of King Brian's palaces. East of Limerick are the "Silvermines" (or Slievephelim) culminating in the great dome of Kimalta "The Keeper"; southward, the Galtees and their continuation the Ballyhoura (Bealach Fheabhrath) Mountains and the bold outlying hill of Slieveveagh on which the royal fort of Dun Claire remains, westward the faint low ridges of Luachra. In the centre of the plains (S.W. from Limerick) is the mote-like Knockfierna, the famous fairy hill of Donn Firinne the fairy king.

¹ St Brendan of Birr names his two friends Aedh of Cashel and Aedh of Craighliath near Killaloe before A.D. 573.



CHAPEL CEILING, BUNRATTY

SECTION II

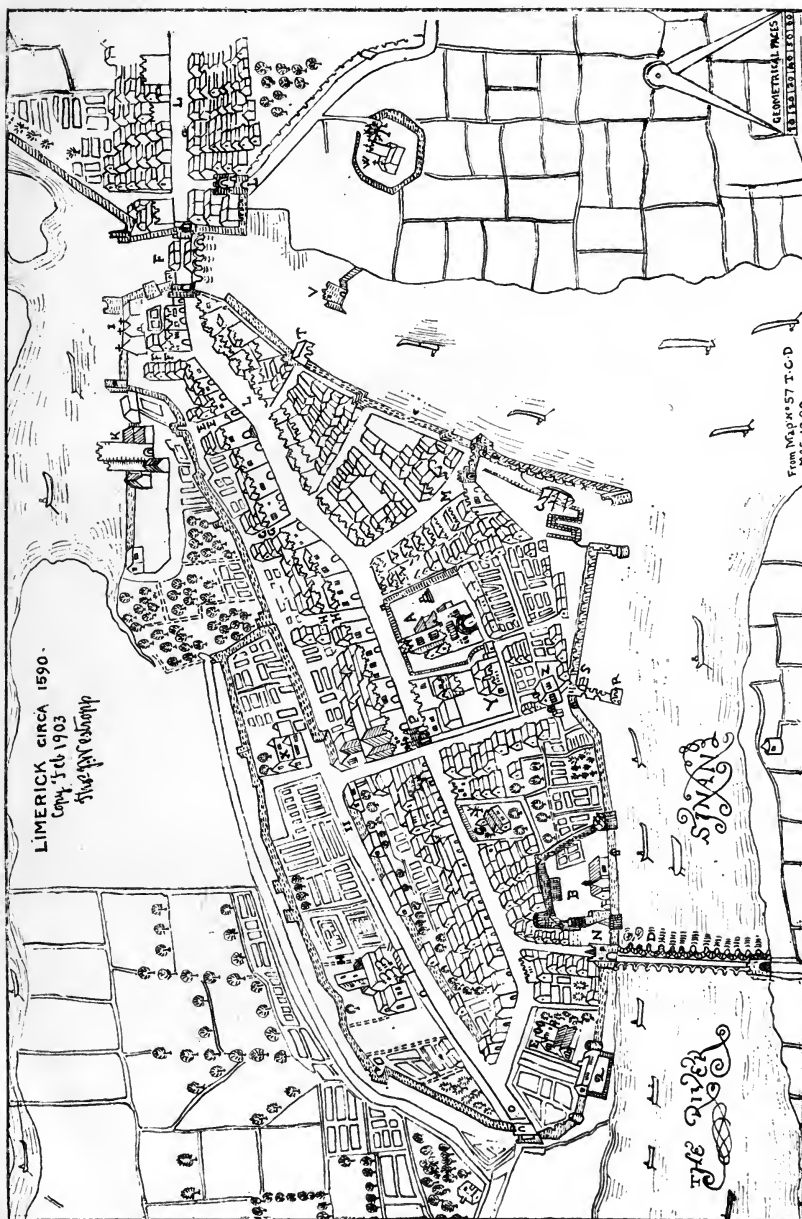
THE CITY OF LIMERICK

The chief city of north Munster derived its Irish name from a tribe, the Tuath Luimnigh, and they from the name Luimneach, the estuary of the Shannon, which appears in the early description of the view from Knockaineey Hill, put into the mouth of Cuchullin, in the "Mesca Ulad." St Mainchin (an early bishop, some say the disciple of St Patrick, but there were several saints of the name) built a church upon the river island where the later city stood. Then all is silent, though we are told in the *Táin Bó Flidhais* (possibly in the 9th or 10th century) of "Ros da, Nochoilledh, or Luimneach," as the southern bound of the influence of the ruling race of Gamanraighe in N.W. Mayo. Other vague and unauthentic stories are told, not of the town but of the district.¹ Cormac mac Airt fought a battle there in A.D. 221, and others at Grian and elsewhere in the county. The Annals of Multifernham call Limerick "Ross de Nailleagh" (which compares with the *Táin Bó Flidhais*), while the lost Psalter of Cashel alleged that Luimneach was the western mearing of two partitions of Ireland in A.M. 2870 and 3973. Much speculation existed, even in early times, as to the origin of the name. The Books of Lecan and Ballymote tell of a prehistoric meeting of the men of Munster and Connacht under their very mythically named Kings "Spear and Sword," for warlike sports; the champions threw off their "grey-green cloaks" (*Luimne*) on the bank and the tide swept them away. "Cloakful is the river now" said someone, whence *Luimneach Liathghlas*; others in later days rendered it *Lom an éach* "bared by horses." The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick tells of his visit about A.D. 434 to Saingéal fort, or Singland, where he baptized the Dalcassian King, Carthann the fair, and his infant son Eochaidh Bailldearg. The Annals of Inisfallen mention a battle of Luimneach in A.D. 567. As we noted, the date and identity of its ecclesiastical founder Mainchin is unknown. St Cuimin Fada, of Clonfert, died near it, A.D. 661, his body was carried up "the Luimneach" in a boat, and a verse of his dirge by Colman his tutor is preserved. None of the records mention any fort, still less a town, here. Hlimrek the town, like its sisters at Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, was founded early in the 9th century by the Norsemen. One writer, Mr Pryce Maunsell, considers that the word is Norse *Laemrich*, rich land (loam), but this fails to account for the earlier *Luimneach* or for the recorded Norse forms. Probably (like *Dyflin* from *Dubhlinne*) it was a Norse version of Luimneach. "Yvorus" (Imhar) was its legendary founder. It was commenced about A.D. 812

¹ Like the story in the *Dind Senchas* and its variants.

on Inis Uibhthonn (some thinks "Odin's Island" but surely that would be Odensey) now the King's Island, near St Mainchin's church. The Irish call it "Luimneach of the ships" and it became a formidable centre of foreign power. The detailed history must be sought elsewhere; the succession of its rulers was—Barith and Omphile; Imhar, 853; Sitric Lord of Luimneach, slain, A.D. 895; Colla son of Barith, A.D. 908, 923; Tomar son of Elge, King, A.D. 922; Colla son of Imhar, A.D. 931; Harold, King, slain, A.D. 939; Imhar, A.D. 940; Olfín, A.D. 942; Amlaibh, Magnus, or Murus its governor, slain at Sulchoid, A.D. 968; Maccus, died A.D. 972. Imhar seems also to have fought at Sulchoid or Sulloghód (near the Limerick Junction), where Mathgamhain, King of Munster, and his brother Brian overthrew the Danes, drove them back to Limerick, and burned and sacked the town and fort. It never rose to its old importance, but subsisted as a dependency of the Dalcassian kings, paying them a heavy tribute of wine. It was the first of Irish towns to get in touch with America; for, about A.D. 1000, "Hrafn the Hlimrek merchant" was a friend and informant of Ari, who made voyages from Iceland to "Wineland" on the east coast of the present United States. Muirheartach Ua Briain, King of Munster, seems to have resided in it, and his successors, down (it would seem) to Donnchadh Cairbreach, who was buried in the Dominican monastery, in 1242, retained some connection with it though the Normans, under Raymond le Gros, stormed it in 1175. Raymond was called off on other business so he "swore in" King Domhnall to act as governor and marched out of it. Domhnall's perjury was evidently not long premeditated, for hardly were the Normans clear of the town before he burned it to the ground. It was only some years after the fierce old monarch's death, in 1194, that the English established a colony; Prince John built its bridge and castle, and granted it a charter before 1199. From that time it has subsisted as a corporation, though for the thirteenth century, the "received lists" of Mayors and Bailiffs is most untrustworthy, contradicting the few authentic records: sometimes being mere lists of names of witnesses to early deeds (c. 1210) in the Black Book of Limerick, recited in their exact order in those documents. The Ostmen were moved out of the town into the "cantred of the Ostmen," and some of their families, notably the Harolds, Thursteyns, Thordelfs, Thurstans, Sweyns, and others long held land near it; the Harolds still subsist. It had walls in 1175, and repairs to them took place in 1237, the cost being paid by a wine tax and other imposts. Though of small "historic importance," it is of interest to note in 1295 the price of provisions in it: 10 acres of oats 2½ marks, 1 acre of beans 40 pence, 6 acres of oats 20 shillings, cows 5 shillings each, a sheep goat or hog 6 pence, a lamb 3 pence, and a kid 2 pence. Horses sold at 5 marks, and mares 10 shillings, oxen at 3 shillings, foals at 2 shillings, a he-goat was worth 8 pence. The city was closely connected with Bristol, several of whose citizens removed to Limerick; Thomas Balbeyn had residences in both towns and left his castle

¹ For these relations with America see the sources brought together in *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxx, pp. 233-236.



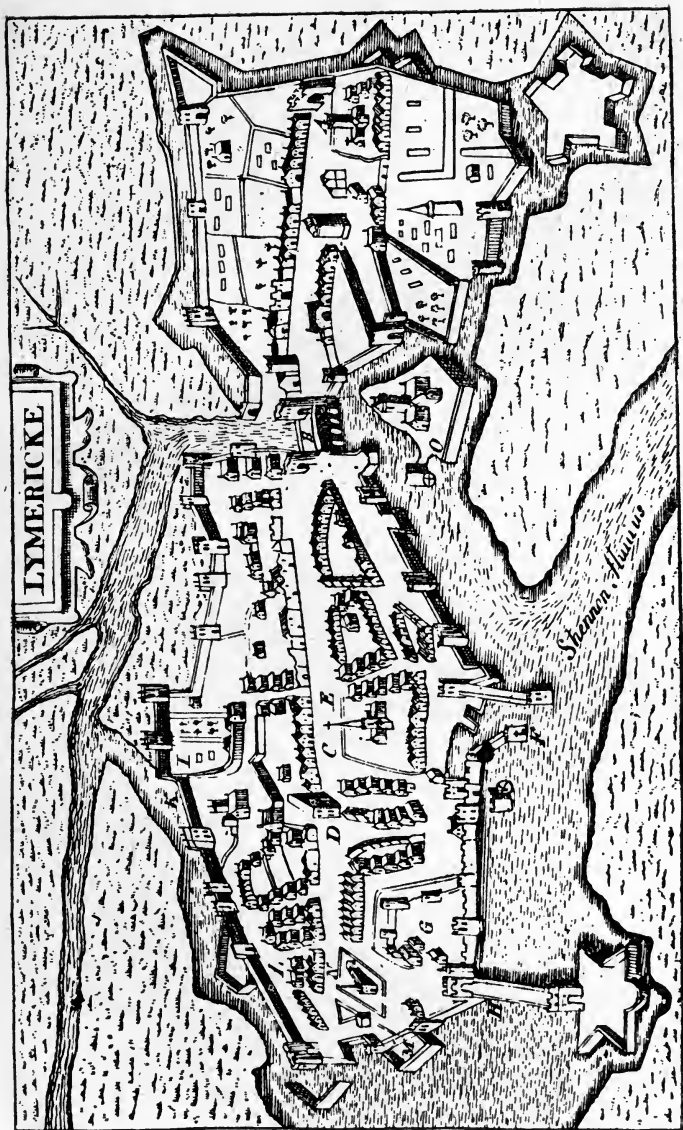
- A. St. Mary's Cathedral
 B. Castle
 C. Quay
 D. Thomond Bridge
 E. St Munchin's
 F. Ball's Bridge
 G. St Nicholas'
 H. Dominican Friary
 I. St Mary House,
 J. High Street
 K. Franciscan Friary
 L. Bishop's House
 M. Quay Lane
 N. Thomond Gate
 O. Island Gate
 P. Newgate
 Q. Bishop's House
 R. Thos. Arthur's Mill
 S. Queen's Mill
 T. Nic. Arthur's Mill
 U. Old College
 V. Common Mill
 W. St Michael's
 X. St Peter's Nunnery
 Y. Old College
 Z. Deanery

of Thom-core to the citizens of Limerick. The city received many charters, that of John, before 1199; Edward I, 1291 and 1303; Henry IV, 1400; Henry V, 1413; Henry VI, 1423, 1429; Henry VII, 1489; Edward VI, 1551; Elizabeth, 1577, 1582, and James I, 1609. Its outer history is usually uneventful; it was threatened by the Bruces, in 1315, and sacked by the Mac Namaras, 1369, after their defeat of the Geraldines at Monasteranenagh; they even appointed a governor, who was slain by the citizens. The city was wealthy and extremely prosperous in the 15th century, and we shall see some interesting monuments of its opulent citizens during that period. Its prosperity lasted for many years after Elizabeth's succession, but the terrible Desmond war, the religious troubles and general unrest brought it down to an unprosperous condition. It however showed great vitality, recovering rapidly on every relaxation of adverse destiny. The transplantation of its citizens, after the Cromwellian Siege, 1651, left numbers of its "houses great and fair, without inhabitant," but again it rapidly recovered and drove a thriving wool trade with Holland; some of the Dutch merchants were benefactors, the Cathedral bells still bear the name of one William York, while several Dutch families, the Van der Luers (Vandelure), Vanhogartens, Verekers, and others, settled from 1620 to 1670. The two great sieges of 1690 and 1691 affected the personnel of the citizens rather than the prosperity of the port. It was at times reputed to be the second city of Ireland, though in later years the conditions of modern trade shifted away from it and railways deprived it of its position of emporium for Munster and Connacht.

ST MARY'S CATHEDRAL¹

The city consists of three sections (besides suburbs); the English town on the island, the Irish town adjoining it, and Newtown Pery. The first is the ancient city of the Danes and the Norman colony. After the destruction of the O Briens' palace at Kincora, the King's of Munster made it their headquarters, building a fort, in which it is said the present Cathedral of Limerick stands. It was to this fort that the soldiers of Muircheartach Ua Briain, nominal High King of Ireland, when he "came against the fortress of the King of the North," brought the cap stones of the Grianan of Aileach as a trophy, and some have looked for them (of course without success) in the walls of the massive old church. Domnall mór Ua Briain, the last recognised King of Munster, founded a church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, some time between 1180 and 1190; the mention of the church by Keating, in his account of the Acts of the Synod of Rathbreasail, in 1112, has led some persons to assert an earlier origin, but Keating's words are clearly an explanation and not from the "Book of Clonenagh." The Gothic style was introduced by Domhnall after he built the convent of St John, Killone, near Ennis: his abbey of Corcomroe and Cathedral of Killaloe are

¹ We must here gratefully acknowledge the kind permission of the Royal Irish Academy to use a number of the illustrations of antiquities which appeared in their Proceedings. The North Munster Archaeological Society was equally kind.



LIMERICK IN 1610 (Speed)

- A. St John's Street and Gate. B. Baal's Bridge. C. Main Street. D. New Gate. E. St Mary's Cathedral.
 F. The Quay. G. The Castle. H. Thomond Bridge. I. Franciscan Friary. K. St Peter's Church.
 L. Dominican Friary. M. Bishop's House. N. St Munchin's. O. St Michael's.

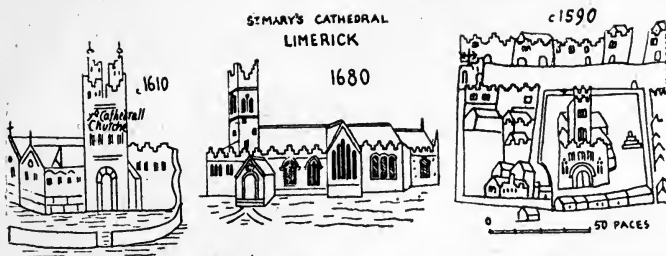
of rich Norman transition; his other abbeys are free from Norman details. Limerick Cathedral seems to belong to the second group in its rounded clerestory and west door and pointed arcades; only in some of the nave capitals does characteristic Romanesque ornament survive. The chancel was built by the first Irish Bishop, Donnchadh (O'Brien), who died in 1209.¹ It has been so often repaired as to show no trace of its early origin, the present details being of the 15th century. Domhnall's church was cruciform, a nave, with side aisles, short transepts and presumably a chancel. The tower is an after-thought, being raised at the west end on massive piers inserted between the older walls.²

In the 15th century several chapels were added by various devout families, the city being then most wealthy and prosperous. They were (so far as I can identify them) as follows:—In the north aisle, the Creaghs' chapel, now the baptistery.³ The next chapel was the burial place of the terrible "Murrough the Burner," Earl of Inchiquin, in 1673. His body was said to have been dug up and thrown into the Shannon; the urgency in his will, 1673, "my friends . . . shall immediately after my death bury and enter my corps privately" (his own son William being then abroad) suggests some anxiety on his part, and an empty coffin found under a stone marked "I" (Inchiquin) possibly confirms the story. The third, now called the "Jebb Chapel," from the statue of that prelate, was the Arthur chapel, or transept, dedicated to St Nicholas (the patron of seafarers) where Thomas fitz Dominick Arthur directs his burial, in 1634. In it should be noted the tombs of Dean Andrew Creagh, 1519; a floriated calvary cross; the tomb of Piers Arthur, 1649, one reading "orate pro a(n)i(m)a Thome Creagh filii David q' obiit—die Junii A.D. 1427 (? 1527) pro aia David filii Andr p(ro) aia Petri Creagh filii—. . . die Junii 1546," and others of that family, and Fanning 1634, Creagh 1632, Arthur 1649, Nicholas Rice 1769, his wife Mary 1724, Thomas Arthur 1729, and William Ferrar (father of the first historian of Limerick) 1753. The slab of the mediaeval altar is in this chapel and several fragments of a large Gothic tomb of the 15th century, portions of whose canopy and buttresses also lie behind the south porch. The chapel has been clumsily built against the north transept and has curious corbelling, explained by some quasi-antiquaries as "the remains of the O'Briens' castle"! It may be generally noted that the old Norman capitals of the aisles were retained and in some cases rebuilt into the new piers of the chapels. The old clerestory lights were in some cases (as in the Jebb chapel) closed by the later additions.

¹ The tablet with his name "Donoh" and a shield with three lions passant round a chevron is probably later. The O'Briens had on their banner in the De Clare Wars the device of *onchoin*, leopards, or perhaps hounds. Of course the coat of arms, derived from the tribal banner, is later and, in fact, when the first Earl of Thomond was invested the Tudor heralds gave him a coat adapted from that of the English *Bryans* with three piles.

² One "historian" gives a fancy account of a consultation of King Domhnall and his Master Builder as to the construction of the tower; it is evidently one of the later additions to Domhnall's Church.

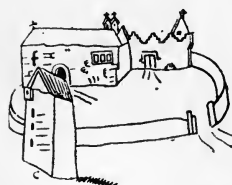
³ The Creagh coat of arms was painted in it "on the left hand, near the entrance to the choir," (*i.e.*, the extension westward, I presume) about 1583. See *MSS.*, T.C.D., E. 3-16. *R.S.A.I. Journal*, xxviii, p. 45.



ABBEYOWNEY 1680



MILLTOWN ABBEY .1680.



ROUND TOWER
ARDPATRICK
1655



GRANE (GREEN)
1680.

OLD VIEWS OF LIMERICK CHURCHES

The north transept retains very few old features. In a restored trefoil-arched recess is set the curiously lettered tablet:—

“Hic jacet, in tumuli fundo, sublatus a mundo,
Galfridus Arterue—Thesaurarius quondam istius ecclesie.
XVI luce Maya requievit in pace perpetua,
Anno Crucifixi Domini MDXIX.
Tu transiens cave quod hic dices Pater et Ave.”

It has long tried the skill of visitors; in 1680 Dyneley could only read “Galfrid Art” and “1519,” Lenihan first read it correctly, but Fitzgerald read it in 1827, with the wonderful version of the closing lines—“Tu tubis sic octavum cane qui hic dice octo precum eanae.”¹

“Do thou excite the solemn train and with the doleful
trumps proclaim
Eight times the mournful story,
Then to Eana oblation make of eight prayers for the sake
Of his soul in Purgatory.”

For “you who are passing take care that you say here a Pater and an Ave.”² There is a tombstone with a decorated cross on the bottom slab of the recess. Another tablet set near the N.E. corner reads : : Hic jacet Dns Johannes ffox quondam pras. See. Crucis qui diem clausit extremam XXIII die Mensis Augusti Anno Dni MDXIX cuius aie. pp itietur Deus.” He was “Provost” (prepositus) of the “House of the Holy Cross,” “The Cell of Our Lady” (dedicated to St Mary and the Holy Cross) founded for Austin Hermits after 1200 by O Brien. The mansion house with a ruined belfry, choir, chancel, and a little garden still stood in 1594 at Sir Harry’s Mall. Another tablet set in the north transept wall commemorates repairs to the chancel by the Harold family in 1529; it was most injudiciously removed from its true position in the choir.

The chancel—The noticeable features are (1) a quaint little tablet with a chevron between three lions, and the name “Donoh,” commemorating the rebuilding by Bishop Donnachd ante 1204, but, as we noted, either later or in part recut in the late 15th century; (2) the pretentious monument of Donat, the “Great Earl” of Thomond, put up by his grandson in 1678 to replace the original, and destroyed by the Cromwellians. It contains the broken effigies of the Earl and his Countess; a third of King Donnachd Cairbrech O Brien (died 1242) is said to have once occupied the top recess. The Earl’s portrait is preserved at Dromoland. It will be noted that the last was VIIth Earl of Thomond but is numbered in regal style Henry II, i.e., the 2nd of that name. In the will of Donat, Earl of Thomond, 1617, he directed that his monument should be a copy of the Vere tomb in Westminster, where kneeling figures hold up a

¹ In “transiens cave quod hic dices Pater et Ave” “the final *s* of *transiens* and of *dices* was read *8*, *octo* and *octavum*; “*trsies*” (*transiens*) was read “*tubis sic*,” *pr et ave*” “*precum eanae*!”

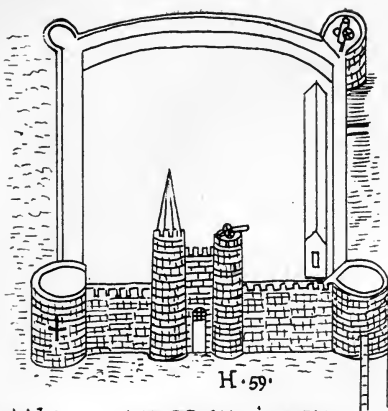
² Maurice Lenihan: *Limerick, its Antiquities*. *Journal Roy Soc. Ant Ir.*, vol. viii, (1864) p. 578. Fitzgerald and MacGregor’s *History of Limerick* (1827) vol. ii, p. 551.



CASTLECONNELL



CASTLETOWN (Corcomohide).



LIMERICK circa 1590



BALLINAGARDE



CASTLETOWN (Kerry).



BALLYBRICKEEN



BALLYVORREEN.



NEWCASTLE
(near Limerick)



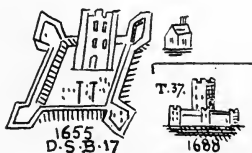
CLOGHNODFOY



KILLACOLLUM



BALLYCULHANE



BALLYGLEAGHANE



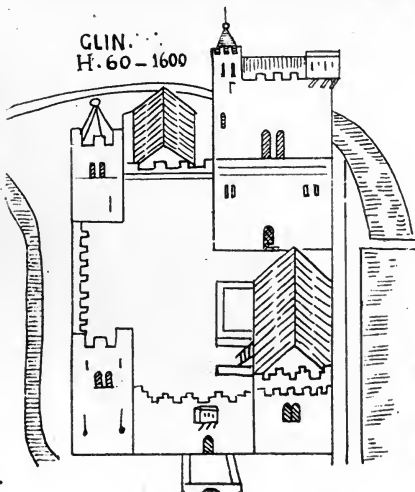
CAHERELLY



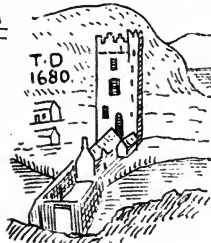
BALLYSTEEN



CARRICOGUNNELL



RALEIGHSTOWN.



LOUGHGUR

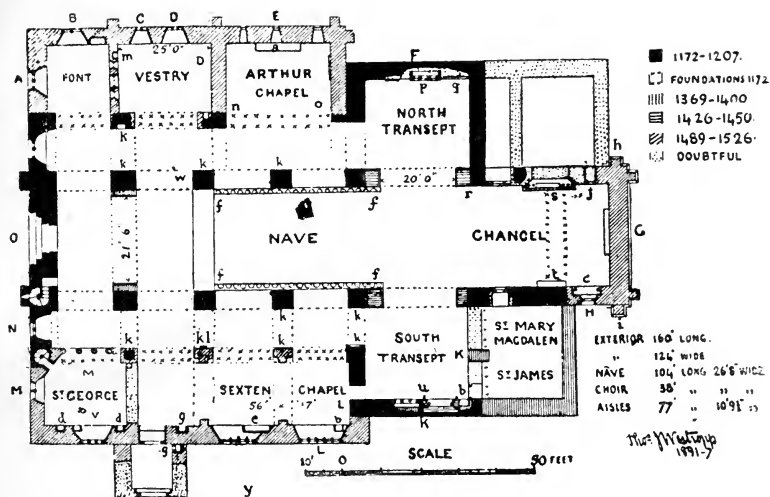
OLD VIEWS OF CASTLES IN CO. LIMERICK
(D S—Down Survey, 1655, H—Hardman Maps, T D—Dinely, 1680,
T—Trustees Maps, 1688)

heavy slab, heaped with carved armour, over the effigies; (3) on its steps the late Dean O'Brien has re-erected the coffin lid with four lions reputed (but I think only since 1866¹) to be that of King Domhnall the founder. The East window is modern, re-constructed in 1860; there are a handsome new reredos, an ancient credence table and a little tablet to Bishop Averill and a monument to Cornelius O'Dea; the contemporary effigy of the last named prelate was placed on the later tomb, but is now lost, if it be not the faintly traceable figure, chipped off the slab, in the Galwey tomb.² The side walls show that the choir was lengthened about 20 feet in the 15th century. The external S.E. buttress shows to the south a slab with the well-known arms of "John Artur," about 1420; with a chevron between 3 clarions (described by Dyneley as "Irish brogues"): and to the east a nameless shield bearing a chevron between 3 scallops. The choir room was once the chapels of St Mary Magdalen and St James, circa 1370; their plain Gothic arches are the only original features, but 2 windows of the two succeeding centuries remain. They were wrecked in the siege of 1691. The south transept is mainly ancient and its window was rebuilt in the style of the older one. The beautiful monument of the Westropp of Ross, Co. Clare, with the wrong date, 1830 (recte 1839)³ is set in the east wall; in the south is a remarkably interesting group of a tomb with its piscina and ambreys on one side and sedilia on the other. The sedilia were put up by John Budston whose name and merchant marks appear on them. He was Bailiff of the city in 1401; his daughter, Margaret, married Peter Arthur, and their son, William, records his grandfather's good deeds, and that he gave 4 brass bells to the church. John Budston's widow left her family the two monuments and her just share of the chapel of the Magdalen. The Galwey tomb is a large and picturesque one with rich shields and finials, a great pediment and figures of angels, round a cinquefoil recess. The shields bear arms and initials, S.G.G. (Scutum Galfridi Galwey), S.E.G. (Scutum Edwardi Galwey, and (within the pediment) S.R.B. (Scutum Ricardi Bultingfort). In the back is the defaced inscription, which gave many hours' work to several, including the writer of these lines, before it yielded "[Hic jacet in] tumb[a] [vener]abilis [v]ir Ricardus/[Bulting]fort quondam civitatis Lim[erici] et] Corcagie qui [obi]it Anno Domini Mcccc m/Hic jacet venerabilis vir Gal [fr]idu[s]/Galwey quondam civis [civi]tatu[m] Limerici Corca[gie] et]/Vatfordie qui obiit die Januarii Anno Domini Mccccxi [E]dmun filius talis Ga[lfr]idi et Margarete filie talis Ricardi Bultingford/istam tumbam fieri [fecer] unt." It is said to have been battered by Cromwellians, but it is most improbable that these fanatics would have left unharmed the shields, and, above all, the angels

¹ It is not so described by Lenihan in that year.

² This was first noted by the late Dr. George J. Fogerty, R.N. on removal of a coat of plaster.

³ Thomas Johnson Westropp (not "Johnstone" as on the brass) actually died 1839 (not 1830) in Madeira. His mother directed that his body should be brought for burial to Cheltenham, where she lived. On her burial the chest was opened and found to contain no human remains,



PLAN OF LIMERICK CATHEDRAL.

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES AND OLDER TOMBS.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| a Altar Slab. | j Closed Door. | r Bishop O'Brien, 1207. |
| b Piscina, with Shelves. | k Corbels, 1172. | s Earl of Thomond, 1624. |
| c Credence Table. | l St. Michael and Satan. | f Bishop O'Dea, 1421. |
| d Stoups. | m Lord Inchiquin, 1673. | u Bultingfort, Galwey, and Bud- |
| e Sedilia. | n King Donald, 1194; Dean | ston, 1369-1449. |
| f Misereres. | Andrew Creagh, 1520, &c. | v Stacpoole and Roche. |
| g Stoups. | o Arthur, 1640, &c. | w William Yorke, 1679. |
| h Miagh (?) Arms. | p Geffry Arture, 1519. | y Dragon and Pelican. |
| i Arthur Arms. | q John fflox, 1519. | |

WINDOWS AND MODERN MONUMENTS.

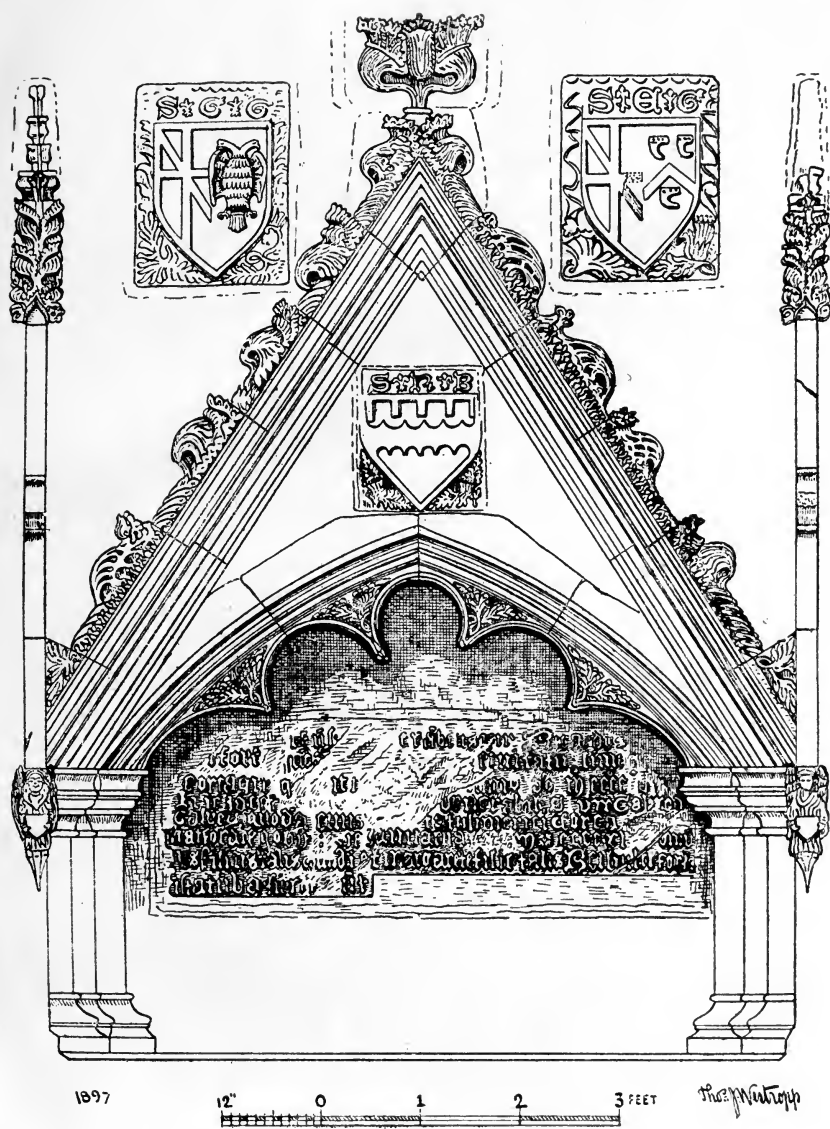
- | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| A Dean Kirwan. | F Samuel Caswell, 1874. | M Viscount Glentworth, 1814. |
| B Preston. | G Augustus O'Brien Stafford. | N Rev. A. Edwards, 1840. |
| C General Napier, 1850. | H Charles Maunsell, 1858; over | O Sir M. Barrington; below it |
| D Matilda Napier, 1840. | it Robert O'Brien, 1870. | the ancient Romanesque |
| E A large Five-light Window, | K Thomas J. Westropp, 1838. | Doorway. |
| over 3 smaller Windows. | L Sir Matthew Barrington, 1858. | |

Antichrist) is outside, built into the Pery vault, not far from the S. porch. The pelican is not feeding, but reviving, its dead young with its blood, a beautiful symbol. The Stacpooles still bear it as their crest. Near the S.W. angle of the Cathedral will be found the escutcheon of the Creagh, or Creevagh, family of Adare and Limerick City; they claimed to be O Neills, from 1580 onward, but seem to be Russells, several at Adare and Limerick being called "Russel alias Creevagh" in the 14th century. The south porch has a recess for a holy water stoup richly decorated with "nail head" ornament and mouldings. The old recessed, round-arched, west door, though plain and defaced, was very interesting, the three outer arches had a single block as their keystone. Most unfortunately in a recent "restoration" (or rather destruction) the whole, save the inner arch, was removed to allow the construction of a valueless modern doorway. It is most regrettable that so little respect for an ancient building should have been exhibited in such recent times, or that architects should be found to commit such vandalism. The foliage on the older capital was similar to that of the piers in the S. arcade, and, therefore, was one of the earliest parts of the existing building. When the Cathedral has been inspected, those who do not fear narrow and steep stairs should ascend the tower to see the fine bells, several given by the Mayor of the city, William Yorke, in 1678. Thence by a ladder the summit can be reached, with its magnificent bird's-eye view of the city, castle and river, and the ring of rich fields and heathery mountains, and the wide plains down to the blue Galtees. The "verger tradition" that the Cromwellians stabled their horses in this church is confirmed by the account book in the Public Record Office with the items for fodder for the same. Of the later monuments, attention need only be called to three. The one of William Yorke, the donor of the Bells in 1679; that of "Dan Hayes an honest man and a lover of his country" (1767); and the quaint one of the clock maker in 1693.

"Here lieth littell Samuel Barrinton that great
undertaker
Of famous cittis clock and chime maker;
He made his one time go early and latter,
But now he is returned to God his Creator."¹

The first record of the Cathedral bells is that of the gift of a peal by John Budston in 1401. We need only recall the well-known story of an earlier "chime." An Italian bell founder had made a most tuneful peal for the Cathedral of his native town. The place was plundered and destroyed and the bells were carried off. The ruined old man "a wanderer on the face of the earth" was sailing up the Shannon at sunset, when the bells of St Mary's chimed out and in a moment he recognized his lost masterpieces; with a cry of joy he lay back, his eyes fixed on the old tower, and when the bells ceased he was found to be dead with a smile on his face. Legend added that these silver bells were thrown into

¹ On a later tomb of the family the "Bar," "ring," and "tun" form a rebus



BUTTINGFORT AND GALWAY TOMB, LIMERICK CATHEDRAL.

the Abbey river to save them, but were never recovered; though they can be heard faintly ringing under the water on Christmas nights.

THE CASTLE

There seems little reason to doubt the tradition that this and the bridge were founded by Prince John, though an early source for the statement has not been traced. Whether any part is as old as his reign may be contested; if any, the ring tower next the bridge might lay claim. The fine gate towers are possibly of the reign of Edward I. The castle was fortified against Thomond only, the part next the city was apparently badly walled till the early 17th century, when the seething discontent of the citizens forced the government to remodel the inner part and to add a bastion. There is a view (in the Hardiman collection of maps) showing the building before the alteration. It was grievously dilapidated and some of the towers were undermined by the river. The shot holes (made by Ginckell's cannon in 1691 and plugged with brick) are very noticeable on the "Bridge" or "Thomond Tower." To give here the salient points of its history for more than 700 years is not possible, though there is a vast mass of material relating to the building—Stanihurst states that King John built an "egregium castellum" and a bridge; the "bawn" of Limerick is first mentioned in 1200 by the Annals of Loch Cé. Richard de Burgo, held it for the King in 1226, when all the other castles were disloyal. It had been greatly neglected and, two years before, the commissioners for valuing the Royal property found that in Limerick Castle the King's goods were scarcely worth 18 pence "as broken dishes." In 1227 it was repaired, and again in 1272. It had a chapel, and hostages were kept in it; a new chamber was built and two watchmen were kept "to watch from the top of the towers towards Thomond, and archers at the head of the bridge." A wall was built in 1297, possibly along the river front. In 1318 a quaint matter is recorded; the constable carelessly let 16 prisoners escape, of whom John Wogan recaptured 18 and slew 2! In 1310 and 1322 grants of murage were made for repairing the fortifications, the last year being soon after the terrifying extinction of the Norman colony at Dysert in 1318 and the burning of Bunratty. It was again in bad repair in 1326, and £20 and £80 were expended on it. A sensational event occurred in 1332; the hostages broke out, slew the constable and held the castle, which had to be stormed by the mayor and citizens. In 1369 the city surrendered to the Mac Namaras, who appointed a governor; but the castle probably held out till the citizens slew the Irish governor Sioda Mac Namara and cleared the city of the Irish. In 1417 it reappears, the fees for its support being "annihilated," so the city repaired it with dues from the Lax weir, the great salmon weir, near Parteen, founded by the Danes. In 1427 the corporation and citizens petitioned that the castle might be confided to them as it had often been nearly lost by carelessness, or treachery; the Government took the offer on condition that the city paid for its repairs. In 1476, James, Earl of Desmond, who was successfully imposing

dues on the free English, and (one would think) a dangerous wolf to be put over that fold of wealthy merchants, was governor. In 1542 it was supported by two gardens and the pasture on the King's Island, 10s. from the "Ile" (eel) weir, at Corbally, and dues on salt, wheat, herrings and oysters, brought into the port. Its history is rarely eventful. Sir Geffry Galwey, the mayor, was fined £400 in 1600 for recusancy, which sum was expended on the castle; in 1611 the undercut towers were repaired, and, in 1624 and 1626, provision for a small garrison, a governor, porter, "cannoneer" and 20 men, was made. The English colony retired into it in 1641; it was besieged by the Confederates and surrendered on terms 21 June, 1642. When the city was taken by Ireton, ten years later, the castle was extensively repaired, the works continuing till 1654. There was an alleged plot of an old Cromwellian officer, Capt. Thomas Walcott, to take it by a mine from St Nicholas' graveyard and to call in the Dutch in 1672. Lastly it was surrendered to Ginckell, after the siege of 1691, and it has since been continuously used as a garrison barrack. The structure retains the three corner towers (two abutting on the river). On the side next the street along the north face, is the noble old gateway, with two great round flanking towers and lofty arches. Some of the town wall remains at and beyond the churchyard of St Munchin's at the opposite side of the street along the river bank.

THOMOND BRIDGE

It is usually assumed that the "egregium castellum" and the bridge were erected about 1210, and that the bridge of that date was wooden. The old stone bridge was a picturesque level structure of 14 irregular arches, with bold cutwaters at each pier. The arches were turned over wicker, which rather favours the view that it was built in the 14th or 15th century, when this method was very usual. The vaults in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and the window splays of Shanid Castle and other early Norman buildings were turned over planking, not wicker. The best and fullest account is given by Mr James Grene Barry in the first pages of the journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society. The old bridge was 150 yards long and had a fortified gate-house next the city and a castellated gateway and drawbridge at the seventh arch, the "Thomond Gate." Many will recall that sad episode in the last siege, Sep. 22nd, 1691, when 600 of the defenders were drowned or slaughtered. The English had taken the outworks and driven back the garrison; a French Major, in command, lost his head and ordered the drawbridge to be raised before the fugitives could enter, thus causing the disaster and on the next day the parley for the surrender of the city. A quantity of King James' brass money was found in the river bed at the site of the drawbridge, when the old bridge was removed and the new one built in 1840. The present structure cost £10,000. At the farther bank stands the so-called "Treaty Stone," an object of undeserved sentiment and interest. The treaty of Limerick was signed in a house on the Clare side of the river, on a table which was long

preserved. No tradition attached to the "stone," which was used as a "mounting block" and lay near its present position beside the roadway.¹

ST MUNCHIN'S.

The church, though on the site of the earliest church in Limerick, was entirely rebuilt in 1827. Its patron was probably Mainchin, son of King Cass, c. 400, cousin of Carthann Finn, the first Christian king, circa 430-480. The 1580 map shows that the mediæval church had an aisle, side chapel and tower. It has a monument of Thomas Young 1649, but is of no general interest or beauty.

BAAL'S BRIDGE.

This again has been replaced by a new bridge, but its history is interesting. It was originally built, about 1340, across the "Abbey River," between the old English and Irish towns. It is said to have been bravely defended by John de Burgo of Galway in 1361 (though I have not found any contemporary record) against the Irish. Legend alone told of how in reward, with other privileges, Lionel Duke of Clarence granted him the "honorable augmentation" of the figure of the Bridge to the De Burgo arms.² It is however certain that the Galwey rental, about 1564, mentions the "Bridge of Limerick in possession of John Galwe" but it was held by Richard Bultingfort, a contemporary of the alleged "Horatius of Limerick," at the close of the 14th century, and it is not impossible that the Galwey legend and their adoption of the bridge device in their arms (later than the time of Geffry Galwey, 1445, and his son Edmund, but at least as early as 1627), refer to some episode when the O'Briens took at least the Irish town after the battle of Monasteranenagh in 1369. The name does not refer to the "abomination of the Canaanites" Baal, but is simply the "*Bald Bridge*," or as the Irish speakers call it *Droichead Maol*, for it is said to have had no battlements. A row of old houses stood upon it; views of 1810 and Bartlett's well known view in 1836 are extant. *Pacata Hibernia* shows it with 3 detached houses and a gate tower and drawbridge, in all 5 arches; the 1810 view shows 4, but the quays had probably been widened by the later date. No houses are shown on it in the plans of 1690 and 1691. When the old bridge and houses were levelled in Nov., 1830, a curious metal square³ was found under a wall with this inscription in Roman capitals:—

"I will strive to live,
1507, with love and care
Upon ye level
By ye square."

¹ As I have been told by the late Captain Ralph Westropp and others.

² The 15th and early 16th century legends of family origins are disastrously inaccurate, but they hardly equal the fictions of heralds and genealogists in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

³ See Paper by Dr. H. F. Berry, *Ars Quat. Coronat.*, vol. xviii. It was given by the Architect, James Pain, to Mr Michael Furnell, and is still preserved.

DOMINICAN FRIARY

The Dominican Friary was founded by King Donnchadh Cairbreach O'Brien in the 2nd quarter of the 13th century, and was rebuilt by James, Earl of Desmond, who died and was there buried in 1462. It is the only one of the numerous religious houses of Limerick of which any tangible remains subsist. It was at one time a tanyard and at another a barrack; yet the north side wall of the church with several windows, but too thickly ivied for thorough examination, remains; other low walls and archways also exist near the city wall. There is a sort of rockery of carved fragments, some of beauty, all of interest, shafts of cloister piers, many stoups, tablets with portions of inscriptions, &c.

ST JOHN'S CHURCH

The church is called "Ecclesia Sancti Johannis de Sancta Cruce" on the Forde tablet, 1693. It existed in the time of Bishop Donat, 1200. Thomas Dyneley gives a sketch of this church in 1680, showing it with two side aisles, and rich Gothic windows in the east ends of these; the central (chancel) gable, had a plain shafted rectangular window set in the arch of an older one. In the north wall were a double light, with pointed heads, a single lancet, and a pointed door. It was 60 ft. by 63 ft.; portions of the older church remain but all remodelled. The mediæval building has been demolished, and the modern one is of no antiquarian value, save for an interesting slab. It is carved with circular headed panels: (1) shows the scourge, pillar, cords, and cock crowing out of the pot; (2) the palm branch, Pilate's ewer and basin, the hand which smote Christ, and St Peter's Sword; (3) the lantern (?), St Veronica's napkin, the seamless coat, the dice, 30 pieces of silver and the sponge; (4) which has suffered injury, shows the cross, crown of thorns, nails, pincers, hammer, ladders, spears, and reed. The inscription is partly legible "Philippus filius Hoc Monumentum condidit suis [posteris ejus animae propitiatur] Deus, Amen." There is a figure conjectured to be a fish; if so, the tomb may be of a Philip Roche who was Mayor, 1602, and bore that device in his arms; other stones record the restoration of the walls in 1693 "after the recent slaughter of the war," and one to John Foorde, Mayor in 1693.¹ In the front wall of St John's Hospital is another slab of John Creagh, Mayor, 1650, when the city gave £200 for repair of the outworks; slabs of Piers Creagh, 1643, at Plassey Mill, originally over the Mungret gate, and another, commemorating the making of Long Pavement Road and Bridge by the same magistrate in 1632, lie outside our field of exploration. A monograph on these is greatly needed. There were 15 towers round the English town and two great gates—the Thomond Gate, near the castle, and one on Ball's Bridge; another large gateway, the Kilmallock Gate, led out of the Irish town southward.

¹ See Fitzgerald's *History*, vol. ii, p. 558.

There are many remains of old houses and, till recently, whole ranges of buildings, collegiate and otherwise, and the Galwey's Castle or "Ireton's House" nearly hemmed in the Cathedral. Part of the vaulted passage of one may be seen beyond the Cathedral, and the lofty side of another to the right as we cross the bridge. The old view, of about 1580, here reproduced, shows the numerous castellated houses and the various monasteries. The city cross (then reduced to a headless shaft and steps) will be noted near the Cathedral. Of the fortifications, many portions of the walls, a sallyport, and a part of the historic "Black Battery" (blown up with many of the German and English besiegers in 1690 in the final assault of King William before his retirement) remain round St John's Cathedral, a noble modern Gothic church.

The older city was rich in churches, all have been rebuilt. Besides the above 4 there were—(5) the church of St Nicholas: it stood before 1194, and had a grant from King Domhnall mór O'Brien; it had a north aisle, with a central tower and low spire, in 1580, and was totally destroyed in Ireton's siege, 1651. It stood near the castle. (6) St Martin, some say the same as "Ecclesia; St Martini (or Ste Marie) rotunda," 1201. (7) St Lawrence, near the City Hospital. (8) St Michael, 1201, ruinous in 1615, near the West Watergate and dismantled 1658; it had a side aisle and battlemented tower, 1580, and lay in James's Street. (9) St Brigid, 1201, mentioned 1212. (10) St Anne's chapel, 1270, no other record. (11) St Andrew's chapel, in the castle, 1216, mentioned down to 1250. (12) St Augustine's convent, circa 1199; a list of the church furniture in 1529 remains. (13) St Peter's convent, founded by King Domhnall, 1171, in Peter Street. (14) St Mary and the Holy Cross, "Our Lady's Cell," and "Holyrood," 13th Century. In 1559 it had a church, hospital, steeple, waste garden and barns; in 1594 it was ruinous save a mansion. (15) The Dominican convent, or "Monastery of Donnoho Carby," noted above. (16) The Franciscan convent, founded by King Donnchadh Cairbreach O'Brien, ante 1241, refounded by a De Burgh of Castleconnell. It had, in 1580, a large belfry, with stepped battlements and a side turret and various low buildings. Sir Thomas and Sir Richard de Clare were buried there, 1287 and 1318; Father Mooney describes its remains in extensive gardens and orchards, as spacious but of poor structure. It was eventually used as a tannery and it still remained at Bishop Pococke's visit, 1752. The east window in 1789 was removed to St George's church and then to St Michael's, but has again been taken out. Some vaults remain on Sand Mall; the County Courthouse was on the site. (17) The Templars had a small house at their dissolution, 1314; it was in Quay Lane. (18) Beyond the river lies the venerable Celtic Church of Kilrush, in the grounds of "Old Church," it has a massive lintelled door, with inclined jambs, and a round-headed east light. A curious square window of the Quinlinans, possibly late 16th century, was removed to it from St Mary's Lane and preserved by the late Robert Vere O'Brien. (19) Another church, Killeely, standing in ruins in 1657, and only represented by a graveyard, lies farther to the north-east. In the S.E. suburb, well seen from the railway, stood (20) St

Patrick's church of Saingeal, or Singland, near King Cairthin's Fort, about 437. Its ruins and a broken round tower stood there in 1657;¹ the latter was demolished so late as 1776; no trace of either remains. Near it stood the Singland Battery in the sieges of 1690 and 1691. (21) Killalee, called Kelilin, in 1410, is represented by a graveyard near St. John's Gate.

There were numerous small castles, all now swept away. Thomcore (where Mungret St. and John St. meet) built by Thomas "Cor" Balbeyn and named in his will, 1402; he bequeathed it to the city, if his brother Henry, of Bristol, did not come to Limerick; it was demolished, and a market house made on its site in 1696. Others were of St John's Gate² St Mary's House, probably the monastic steeple adapted as a castle; the Shambles; Filkin's Castle in High Street; Stritche's Castle, in St Munchin's parish, and Galwey's Castle, called Ireton's House, beside the Cathedral. The old city gates were—(1) Thomond Gate; (2) Island Gate; (3) Sallyport; (4) Little Island Gate; (5) Abbey Gate North; (6) Fish Gate; (7) Ball's Bridge Gate; (8) East Water Gate; (9) St John's Gate; (10) Mungret Gate; (11) West Water Gate; (12) Creagh Gate; (13) Quay Lane Gate; (14) New Gate; (15) Gate at Castle Barrack; only one (9) built into St John's Hospital, remains.³

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¹ Down Survey Map No. 13 gives a view, reproduced in group of church views, p. 13.

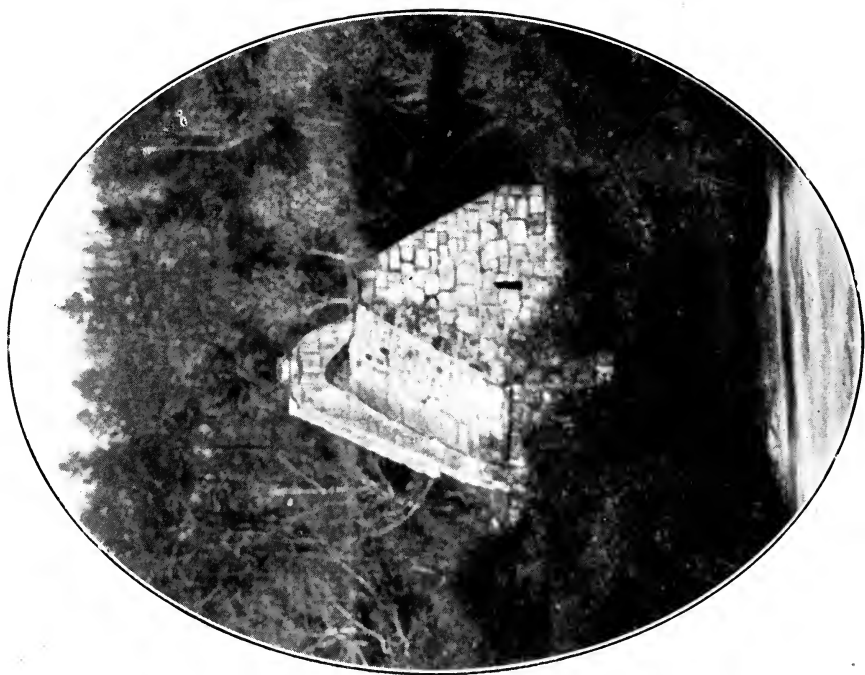
² Captain Fennell admitted Cromwellian soldiers to the tower of St. John's gate, which decided the surrender of the city to Ireton, 1651.

³ The chief fort of the outworks of Limerick appears to have been on the salmon weir in 1651.





ST FLANNAN'S ORATORY, KILLALOE



ST. MOLUA'S ORATORY, FRIAR'S ISLAND, KILLALOE

SECTION III

KILLALOE, BEAL BORUMHA, KILTINANLEA AND CASTLECONNELL

KILLALOE

Leaving Limerick, one gets a striking view of the old river-girt English town, and a pleasing view of the hills and Shannon, which is crossed at Athlunkard Bridge ("ford of the fortress"). Once the Blackwater (appointed as the boundary of Killaloe diocese by the Synod of Rathbreasail in 1112) has been passed, a lone shady road is reached, the reputed haunt of the *Puca* so late as 1911, and of a ghostly horse-head floating beside those riding or driving in the dark. After passing through Clonlara, the road turns over a steep canal bridge, with the Castles of Coolistiege and Ballynua, or Newtown, to either side, and, in the north wall of the bridge, a curious female figure in low relief with the added date 1769. It was probably one of those grotesque luck-bringing carvings called *Sheela-na-gigs*. Legend says that a "lady ghost" haunted the bridge till driven away by cutting her counterfeit presentment on the slab.¹

The thickly ivied Castle of Elmhill, or St John's, in the low ground to the right of the road was reputed to be haunted by a ghostly black bull, with fiery eyes, and a farmer living even in the "nineties" told us that he had seen it at high noon sally forth, wind its tail round a small hay cock and draw it into the ruin. The whole district is a mine of folk-lore, much of which has been published.²

The well of St Senan is a modern structure in a neat grove. It is loaded with china and other offerings, and is the resort of hundreds of pilgrims and visitors on August 15th each year. The saint's own day, on March 8th, the day of the patron of Iniscatha, is but little observed. Nearer to the river bank is the graveyard with a late 15th century church. Near its N.W. gable is a venerable fallen hawthorn covered with rags and beads; and in the rock before it is a bullán or basin, also an object of pilgrimage. No history is preserved of the origin or founder of Kiltinanlea church. It is dedicated to "Senan the Hoary," reputed to be a brother of the famous St Senan of Iniscatha, but some fancy him a personification of the foam-sheeted river beside the ruin. The present church is of the same period as the three castles above-named, and like them, was very probably a Mac Namara foundation. It has

¹ *Folk Lore*, vol. xxi, Plate xiv.

² *Folk Lore*, vol. xxi, pp. 480, 481, xxii; pp. 54, 339, 449, 459, Plate x, "S. Senan's tree."

a neatly moulded pointed south door, and a curious little double-oped holy water stoup in its jamb, a trefoil headed south light on the point of collapse, and the east window, a tall ogee-headed lancet. A short walk through the demesne leads along the river bank to the "Turret Rock," commanding a fine view of the Salmon Leap, and rapids. It is the "Rock of Astanen" in Elizabethan documents, *Dun Eása Danainne* in Irish annals. No trace remains of the fort, nor, for that matter, of the Mac Namaras' Castle, which was still standing on the rock in 1655; it was destroyed for material to make the terraces and the ruined turret by Sir Hugh Dillon Massy, the 2nd Baronet of Doonass, about the beginning of the last century. The great rounded mountain, seen up the river, over Castleconnell, is the Keeper, or Kimalta, the chief of the Silvermine and Slievephelim range. The survivors of an avenue of fine old chestnut trees, some 23 feet in girth, reach from the turret towards Doonass House.

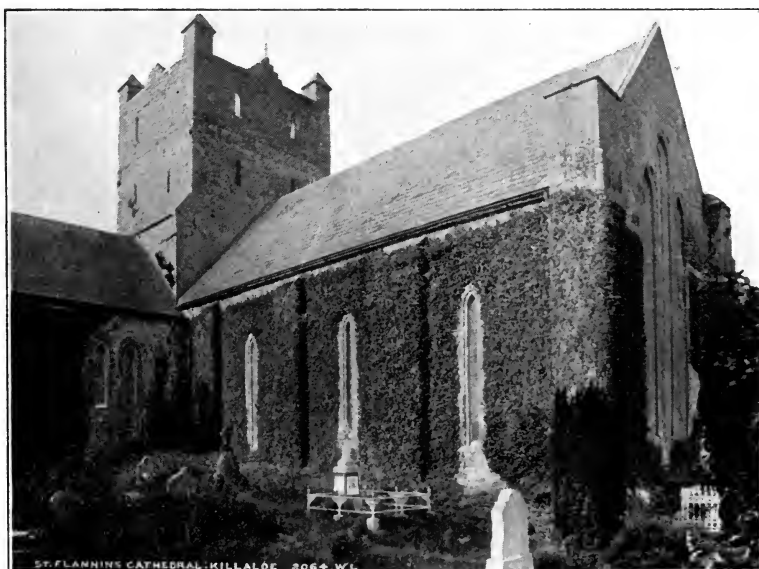
O'Brien's Bridge stands on the site of the older bridge (1509), *Droichead Puirt Croise*, which, with its strong castles in the middle of the river, was entirely demolished in 1536. The present bridge is of two periods, owing to diversity of action by the grand juries of Counties Clare and Limerick. Just above the bridge is seen Inishlosky, with a couple of fragments of a venerable little church. The only features are the northern half and the side of a beautifully built plain Romanesque window of red and yellow sandstone with the springing stones of the circular arch: the light is 5 inches wide, with a neat recess and chamber, the walls 2 feet 8 inches thick. Only the foundations of the sides, and about half the ivied west gable remain, with a few illegible tombstones and a vault from which a recent flood washed the coffins and bones.

BEAL BORUMHA

Northward from Killaloe the road, keeping to the river bank, passes the beautiful woods of Ballyvalley on the left; to the right, on the great drift spur, in a grove amidst the fields is the fort of Beal Borumha. Popular legend says that the great spur was an artificial embankment made by King Brian to dam up the Shannon and drown out the Connacht men. The fact of the fort's having been made by King Brian never passed out of mind; it is mentioned by Bridgeman in his account of Clare for the Philosophical Society of Dublin in 1683, by De Latoenaye in 1797, and by most other writers. The name probably originated in the fact that the cattle tribute of Eastern Thomond was brought across the ford to the Kings of the Craglea line of the Dal gCais. There were two other palaces, one up on the flank of Craglea, the other probably on the site of the town of Killaloe, named respectively *Grianan Lachtna* and *Ceann Coradh*. It may be well to treat the history of this group together, keeping the account of the churches for a later section. At the end of the upper ford a Stone Age settlement seems to have existed, as implements have been found on several occasions. Safe in the river valley, flanked on both sides



ST FLANNAN'S CATHEDRAL, KILLALOE



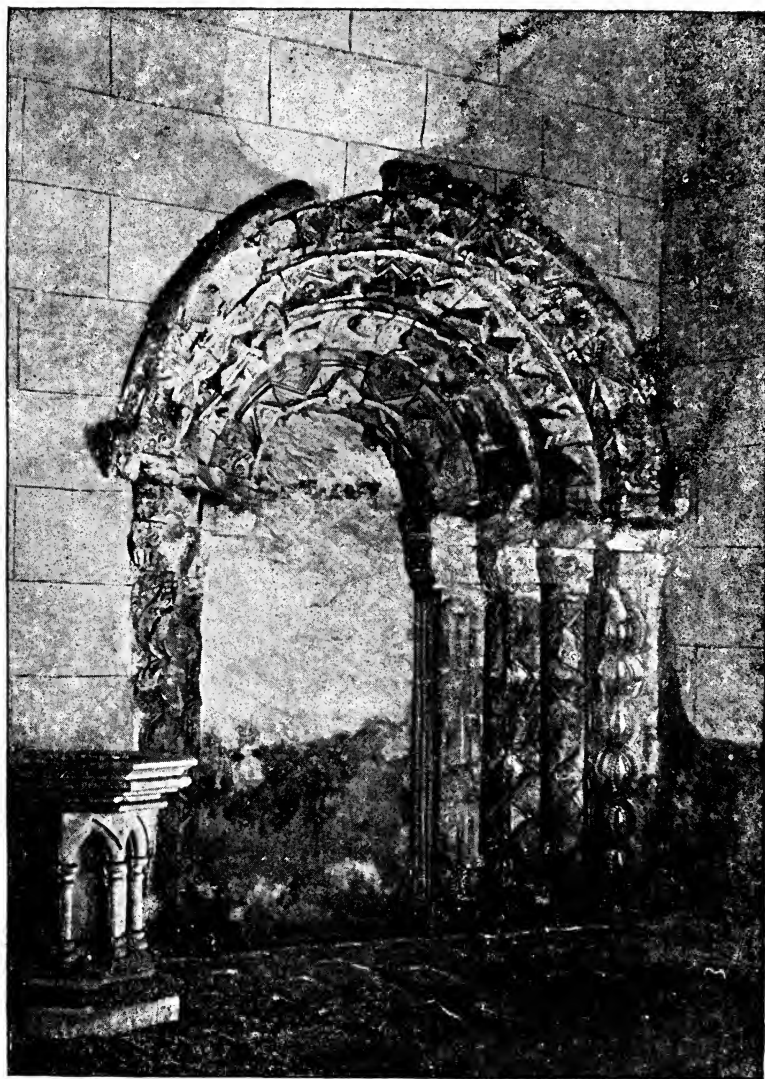
KILLALOE CATHEDRAL FROM S.E.

by mountains, it was an ideal place of settlement; the lake and river were rich in fish and fowl, the rich pastures on the shore most desirable for cattle, and the hills and forests abounding in game lay behind. The ford was evidently much used in the bronze age, several weapons of that period having been found when it was dredged away. Craglea was the seat of a famous supernatural being, Aibhinn "the pleasant," possibly an early war goddess venerated (or adopted) by the Dalcassians as their tutelary banshee.¹ Her name is now corrupted into Aibhill; one old Irish version of the *Dies Irae* substitutes her for the Sibyl in strange companionship with King David. From Craglea the banshee Aibhinn used to sweep out to the battlefield with her weird train, "satyrs, sprites, maniacs of the glen, witches, goblins, owls and destroying demons of the air and firmament and the demoniac phantom host." From it she flew to Dublin to appear to King Brian the night before his death; but for his fatalistic belief in this vision he might have escaped to linger out a miserable old age instead of dying with his best and bravest in the moment of victory.² There is a great projecting crag, 20 feet high, on the western slope, still reputed to be her residence, while on the eastern slope a spring, pure, bright and unchanged by all the centuries, wells out from a rock fissure among ferns and flows down the slope. Below there is the Grianan of Lachtna, an early Royal fort. It is reached by a torrent bed, on a shoulder of a hill, with a magnificent view. The Grianan consists of a nearly levelled ring wall with a stone-faced outer ring, and a fosse tufted with bracken and fox-glove. We first hear definitely of the place in about 840. Lachtna, son of Core, "a fair-haired man from Cragliath," had his fort there and met the titular High King, Fedhlimidh, King of Cashel, at the now vanished pillar stone of *Liag na n-casain* and made terms of friendship with him.³ This shows that Lachtna had a fort on the S. side of Craglea, where the Grianan stands, and that the "received" statement that it was only founded over a century later by his namesake, Lachtna, implies at most a restoration. In 877 Bor-oimhe is incidentally mentioned, perhaps the ford not the liss. In 941 Muircheartach "of the leather coats" spent a night at the barren Cell da lua, a night in the strong Cenn Coradh, which suggests that Kincora then was a residence. One of Prince Brian's earliest achievements was on the flank of this hill. He seems to have been attacked by a Danish force, under a leader, Biorn, who fell, with many of his soldiers, but at heavy cost to the Dalcassian army. Mathgamhain, brother of Brian, is the first King of the Dal Cais called "King of Boruma," but the title more especially belongs to King Brian, and his well-known epithet is undoubtedly from the place and not from the late story that he reimposed the Leinster cattle tribute. The Thomond Boruma or cattle tribute he, like his predecessors and successors, received. Down to even

¹ See *Folk Lore*, vol. xxi, pp. 186, 187. See also *Revue archéologique N.S.* vol. xviii, p. 1, for the war-goddess Catubodua in Gaul, and *Dublin University Magazine*, 1834, p. 463, and *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. x, p. 425.

² *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (ed. Todd) p. 175.

³ *Book of Munster*.



ROMANESQUE DOOR (*circa* 1080), KILLALOE CATHEDRAL

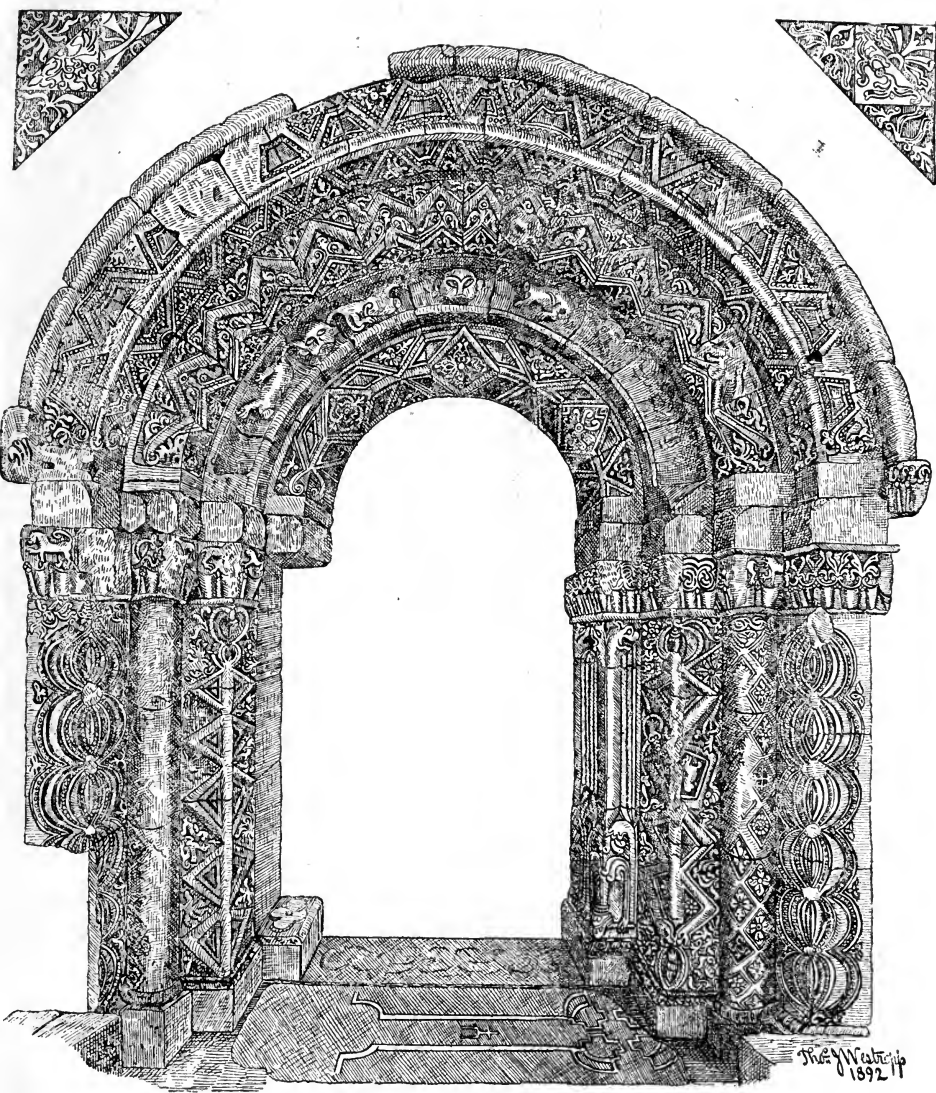
1585 the "borome" tribute was paid to his successors, the Earls of Thomond, under the ancient name, and continued in fact to the present century, as under certain trusteeships its representative money composition had to be redeemed in recent sales. Part of the tribute is recorded in the Book of Rights for Corcomroe. Kincora is entirely levelled; O Donovan's statement that part existed in 1834 arose from the common confusion between it and Boruma fort. It was a stone ring wall, with large wooden houses in and about it, and with a well and salmon pond near it. We have an early account, possibly (as it purports to be) by Brian's bard, Mac Liag; Brian's throne, in Beal Borumha, was on a raised dais to the right of the entrance (*i.e.*, to the west), and the position of the tables and seats of the subordinate princes are fully described. There were numerous gold cups (Brian's was preserved at least till 1152); the pages wore rich embroidered coats, and hung up and furbished their master's shields and weapons behind the chairs. The food comprised beef, mutton, fresh pork, game and fish, oat cakes, cheese and curds, honey, cresses and onions, fruit and nuts in the season, the drink being wine, ale, mead and bilberry juice. The meat was cooked in the centre of the hall, the smoke escaping by a *louvre* in the roof. Music, recitation and chess were among the pastimes.

Beal Borumha (now "Ballyboroo") consists of a high ring mound 50 to 70 feet thick below, and 9 feet on top, rising 22 to 25 feet over the fosse, and 10 to 14 feet over the garth, which is oval, 102 feet inside N. and S., 87 feet E. and W. The fosse is 650 feet round the entrance to the north. There are pleasing views from it up the lake to Craglea, and the great purple brown mass of Thountinna (where Fintan is fabled to have slept so soundly that he was not drowned by the Deluge) and down to the low Cathedral tower and the weirs and bridge of Killaloe.

The history of Kincora is one of destruction and restoration, little more. In it took place the fatal game of chess from which Maelmordha, King of Leinster, after his quarrel with Prince Murchad, in 1014, fled in wrath to organise his Danish supporters for the battle of Clontarf. It was destroyed by the Connacht men in 1016 and 1062, when the well was stopped and the "sacred" salmon cooked and eaten in insult. It probably shared the destructions of Killaloe by fire in 1081 and 1084 by the same foe, and their plundering raid, 1091. King Murchad rebuilt it in 1098, when he dismantled the Grianan of Aileach, but his chief residence was then at Limerick. Kincora was destroyed by lightning in 1107, and after the death of its restorer, in 1119, Torlough O Conor, King of Connacht, destroyed it, throwing the stones and timber into the Shannon and dismantling Borumha; it was probably never rebuilt, but the name appears in 1150.² There is no true tradition of its site.

¹ Exchequer Inquisition, July 27, 1585, Pub. Record Office, Dublin. "A compulsory rent called a borome . . . of certain cows or thirteen pence per cow."

² The name of the house called Kincora is very modern. The fort probably stood on the brow of the plateau in the village.



DOORWAY (DETAIL OF ORNAMENT), KILLALOE CATHEDRAL

THE CHURCHES

The ecclesiastical foundation of Killaloe, as the name (Cell Dalua) implies, owes its origin to a Dalcassian Prince, Lugaidh (Lua, Molua, or Dalua), who died before A.D. 605; he was brother of Toir-dhealbhach, a descendant of Eochaidh Bailldearg, baptized by St Patrick. His nephew, St Flannan, was an energetic missionary up the coast into Scotland, where the venerable boat-shaped oratory and cells, on the Flannan Isles, are attributed to him.¹ Like his uncle, he was a bishop, and probably the small very primitive church on Friar's Island was founded by Molua while he founded a church (or churches) where the Cathedral and stone-roofed oratory still stand. Flannan is said to have been consecrated by a Pope, John (more likely John VI, at the close of the 7th century than John IV, in A.D. 639); he died on Aug. 4th, the year being unrecorded. The Cathedral was extensively rebuilt by Murchad, titular High King of Ireland, about 1080, and many fragments of the richly decorated early church and the fine Romanesque archway are built into the walls of its successor. The Gothic building is one of the numerous foundations attesting the piety (or perhaps the remorse) of the unscrupulous Domhnall mór Ua Briain, the last King of Munster. In the church were buried King Murchad in 1119, and Conchobhar "na Cathrach," King of Thomond, a benefactor of Ratisbon Abbey, who died in 1142, but no certain monument remains, though an early Irish cross-scribed tombstone (now in the recess of the Romanesque door) is shown as the tomb of the former prince, or even as that of King Brian, who, in point of fact, was buried at Armagh.

The stone-roofed oratory, called "St Flannan's tomb," and "Brian Boru's vault," is a fine specimen of its class, and resembles St Columb's House at Kells and St Kevin's at Glendalough. It is fully described in Lord Dunraven's work and other accessible books, and consists of a church, to which a chancel was subsequently added; but this was later destroyed. The moulded east door, with its billets and quaint capitals and the side windows, suggestive of those in the best class of round towers, are interesting; above the barrel vault is an overcroft in the steep stone roof lit by windows to either end. The oratory measures 28 feet 8 inches by 17 feet inside, the walls are under 4 feet thick. Various carved stones of the Romanesque church lie in it.

The Cathedral is a cruciform building, dating about the same time as Corcomroe Abbey, about 1185, in the second period of King Domhnall mór's foundations. It is a plain impressive old building with tall narrow Gothic lancets and built of yellow and purple sandstone, mellowed by time, and sheeted with variegated ivy. The dimensions are briefly—the chancel, 65 feet by 30 feet, the belfry, 30 feet square, the nave, 61 feet by 30 feet, the south transept 32 feet 7 inches by 22 feet 7 inches, and the north 23 feet 8 inches by 19 feet 3 inches. The chancel has four Gothic lancets

¹ See *Vita S. Flannani* (compiled 1164 from earlier *Gesta*) Acta SS. ex Codice Salmaticensi, 1881. For the cells see *Journal*, vol. xxix., pp. 328, 329.

to either side, and rows of quaint, interesting corbels, a few modern (copies of the older ones), support the roof timbers. The east window is very curious, and probably (as so often) symbolizes the Trinity, having 3 lights in one arch; the central light is round-headed, with a pointed light on each side under a heavy splay-arch of late Romanesque detail, but pointed, with clustered columns and shafts running up to the curves of the arch with worse design than effect. In the corbels, the curious group of 6 little men in kilts, kissing each other, was perhaps a much needed hint to the warlike occupants of that part of Clare, if not to later times, that brotherly love was necessary in Christians. A neat little carving of a horse is also noticeable. The north transept has a large spiral stair up to the tower, and has been divided into two floors as a vestry. The upper part of the low massive old tower has been twice rebuilt, once by Bishop Knox (1794 to 1803), again about 20 years since. The other transept calls for little notice save for an elaborate window. A curious font of yellow sandstone in the chancel, with a rather late and crude design of foliage, should be noticed; it seems to have been left unfinished.

The object of most interest in the nave is the very rich, though greatly damaged, Romanesque door of the older church with the ancient tombstone already mentioned and the neat Gothic west door. The designs of the first are of considerable beauty and delicacy, but the whole is overcrowded with bead work, as is usual about 1100. The history of the building from the 12th to the 16th century is a blank. It was repaired in 1622 and 1676; the plate dates from 1624; a font was set up, 1701; the screen rebuilt, 1707; the south transept and nave repaired, 1708, and the south wall rebuilt. In 1725 the gate and stone piers were made; 1728, the trees planted; 1741, the chancel re-roofed; 1782, the first organ erected; 1820, repairs by Bishop Mant, 1837; the bell put up, J. Fogarty, Limerick; "No surrender, 1837"; 1841, marble font erected; 1852, chancel re-roofed, plaster taken off corbels and windows, &c.; 1853, ancient oratory repaired; 1885, chancel restored, a screen wall removed; 1892, new glass screen put up lately, and upper part of tower rebuilt.

The monuments are late—Bishop John Roan, 1692, outside of the east end; Simon Purdon of Tinneranna, in the chancel; ornamental frame of a lost tablet and the curious coffer tomb of the Redfields in the S. E. side of the graveyard, "— Redfield to ye memory of his virtuous and loving wife Elizabeth Browne," Oct., 1719, "years married, 44, aged 57, one husband, bless, and children, eleven." If this is true she was married early, at the age of 13. The panels show a man growing like a tree, the Resurrection, Angel (with trumpet and banner), a skeleton with a cherub's head and a banner and the words "Dread and terroure Death doth be, Death wears an angel's face, And that masked angel will advance Thee to an angel's place." Among other quaint verses are "My dearest friends of Christ above them will I go and see, And all my friends in Christ below shall post soon after me."

The high cross in the Clarisford gardens was removed from Killfenora by Bishop Mant in 1821; it shows the crucifixion and inter-

laced ornament, and is probably of the first half of the 12th century; several carved stones from the older Romanesque church lie near it.

The tiny oratory of St Molua on Friar's Island, opposite to Clarisford, is inaccessible. It resembles the large oratory in design, but is only 10 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 6 inches inside, the walls 3 feet to 3 feet 4 inches thick. The east window is round-headed, a chancel arch was cut in the west end, and a nave with a lintelled west door, with inclined jambs added, possibly in the 9th century, but it was wantonly levelled soon after 1793.

CASTLECONNELL

Castleconnell is passed as we return down the east bank of the Shannon to Limerick. The castle, though picturesquely seated on a rock over the Shannon, just above the falls of Doonass, has no features of general interest. Traces of circular towers remain to the S. W. and N. W., with fragments of walls and well-built arches; one fragment has been hurled into the field beyond the road when the castle was blown up. The court measures 160 feet by 100 feet. Local tradition says that it was built by the O Briens and destroyed by Cromwell. Briefly to tell its history, it was the fort of the Ui gConaing or O Gunnings, to judge from its name, where (it being then called Caisleán Ua Conaing), in 1174, King Domnhall mór Ua Briain blinded two of his relations. The *bawn* was burned in 1200 by the Connacht men, and King John granted it next year to William de Burgo; "If he fortify the castle and we desire to have it we will give him an exchange." Records of its De Burgh Lords abound but tell little of the castle, which was destroyed in 1261 by Conchobhar ("na Siudaine") Ua Briain, King of Thomond. It was for a short time, 1275-1279, in possession of Theobald the Butler and Thomas de Clare, but De Burgh, the Earl of Ulster, recovered it before 1285, and "harboured" Toirdhealbhadh, King of Thomond, before his destructive raid down eastern Co. Limerick and up northern Tipperary, before 1287. Walter de Burgh enlarged and strengthened the castle before 1299, but it was wasted by King Robert Bruce and his brother, Edward, who camped near it in 1315. In 1564 William Bourke "of Kislany-connell" was created Baron of Castleconnell. The castle surrendered to the Cromwellians, 1651, but was not dismantled; in 1690 it was surrendered to King William; on his retreat from Limerick the Jacobites reoccupied it, but surrendered it to the Prince of Hesse, after 2 days blockade, Aug. 29th, 1691. Ginckell subsequently caused it and Carrigogunnell, its sister castle, to be blown up.

The parish church, though on an old site, is modern and has no old monuments.

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ST. FLANNAN'S ORATORY, KILLALOE,

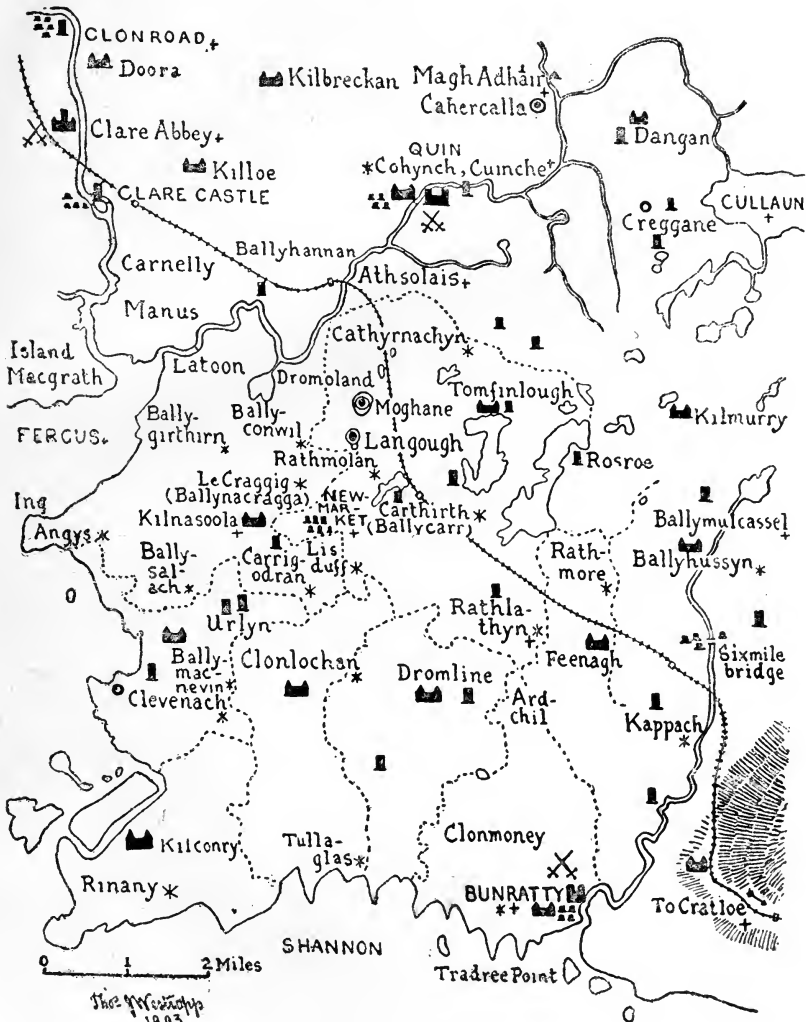
SECTION IV

MAGH ADHAIR, MOGHANE, AND CAHERCALLA

The road from Limerick to Quin runs through the low grounds beside the Shannon with the Cratloe hills to the right. Across the river stands up the bold rock and castle of the O Briens at Carrigogunnell. The tall peel tower of Cratloe next comes into view beside the road. It was the chief of three castles of the name, belonging to the Mac Namaras, chiefs of the district of Clancuilean, or Ui Caisin, and distinguished as Cratloe more (or Cratloe moyle). It dates, like most of these towers, late in the 15th century, and has been greatly defaced, large late windows having been opened in the top story and the stair-case broken; the vaulted room in the basement is a cattle pen. The little chapel beside it is of the same period; the windows are destroyed, and only the fluted basin of a stoup remains intact. Cratloe keale or Castle keale (the narrow castle) is hidden by a grove of trees, and lies between its larger neighbour and the river; it is partly inhabited, and only the section with the stair-case, porch, and guard-room, and the small bed-rooms above them remains; the main section with the chief apartments is destroyed. The third Cratloe castle, Castle Donnell, lay near the river, and is levelled to the ground. The road now turns under the railway and passes close to a fine dolmen, quite perfect, and apparently unopened; beside which are the graveyard and side walls of the church of Croghane, of the late 15th century, a time of great building activity in Co. Clare, and indeed all over Ireland. The only features are a small stoup, a pointed south door and a window. The east gable had a broken pointed light, but has since fallen. There seems no ancient record or tradition, save that it is said to have been "the ancient burial place of the Mac Namaras, before Quin Abbey" which is most unlikely, as their settlements lay round Tulla, and the Tradraighe and Ui Aimrid lay between them and Croghane.

The road passes over the edge of the hill below the great Cratloe Forest, once famous for its oaks. Over this pass King Muircheartach "of the leather coats," crossed in the winter of A.D. 941. His historian expresses horror at the pass of Cratshallagh in his poem on "The Circuit of Ireland"; they camped on the "cold Magh Adhair" afterwards. In May, 1318, King Murchad O'Brien, after his fruitless peace conference with Sir Richard de Clare at Limerick, marched by Cratloe into Ui Aimrid, and on "past hazel woody Ballymulcashel" and Cullaun to Tulla, while de Clare returned to Bunratty on the high tide in bright moonlight, a statement which Dr Joly (the late Astronomer Royal) verified by calculation and found to be correct.

Where the road crosses the river Raite (or Owenogarnagh) is the once prosperous little town of Sixmilebridge. It has no early history; the bridge was built by Donat "the Great Earl" of Thomond in the reign of James I. The Confederate Catholics formed a camp



CENTRAL CO. CLARE

here during the siege of Bunratty, in 1642, and there is said to have been a late Dominican cell near it. Those that go on by the north road pass a striking peel tower, Baile Ui Maolchaisil, or Ballymulcashel, or Mountcashel, on a small abrupt rock, beside the road. It was built by Conor na Srona O'Brien, King of Thomond, 1466-1496. It has some well cut windows, but the upper

part is inaccessible, its stair-case (as is so usual) having been broken by certain commissioners who dismantled most of the castles in East Clare in 1654.

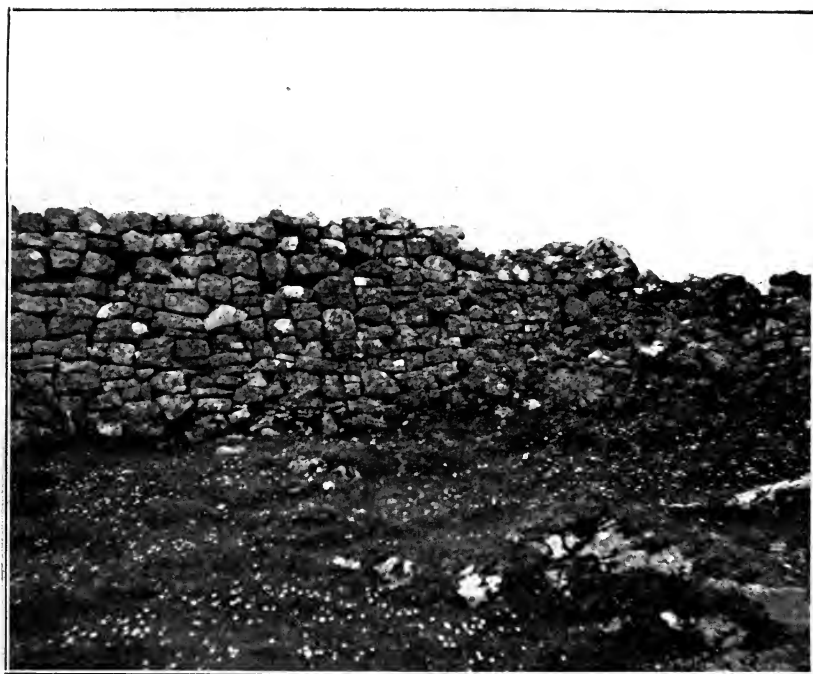
Another road turning westward at the little village of Kilmurrynagall (named from the Norman colony of 1275-1318, on the edge of whose territory it stands) leads through a land of low ridges and little lakes into the central plain, and passes the half-blown up dolmen of Knappoge and the castle of the Lords Dunboyne. This, another peel tower, is still inhabited, forming part of the modern mansion. The family is a branch of the Butlers, founded by Sir Toby Butler, a leading lawyer, Attorney-General to King James II. Beyond are the tower of Ballymarkahan and the village of Quin.

Another road leads over the high ridge from Rathlube to Cullaun. Tom Steele's Turret is on the hill to the left, and the pretty castle and lakelet of Creggane to the right. Quin "Abbey" is seen in the distance.

MAGH ADHAIR

To the north east of Quin lies a remarkable site, a well preserved place of ancient repute and ceremonial, where the Kings of Thomond were inaugurated. Legend mentions Adhar son of Uíor, brother of Aenghus the Fírbolg chief, who built the great stone fort of Dun Aengusa, in Aran, just before our era. Adhar gave his name to the plain, and possibly the great mound was his reputed tomb, and from its name, Aenach Muighe Adhair, was a place of assembly. No record tells us when it became a place of inauguration; it may have been adopted by the Uí gCaisin, the ancestors of the Mac Namaras,¹ who seem to have established themselves between this place and Tulla as early as the 5th century. The ruling line (afterwards O Briens) had their centre in south-eastern Co. Limerick, at Bruree and Dun Claire. It is possible that Aedh of Cragliath, in A.D. 571, was a chief in eastern Clare. Lachtna, his descendant, was perhaps the first King of Thomond, of Aedh's line, recognised as such by any other king, when Fedhlimidh of Cashel, titular High King, met him at Craglea, near Killaloe, about A.D. 840. Perhaps Lachtna, or his son, Lorcan, was first inaugurated here. When the High King, Flann Sionna, invaded Thomond, in 877, he marched to "the green of Magh Adhair" and played chess to insult the Dal gCais, "at the very place of inauguration." He had cause to regret his act. The surrounding inhabitants attacked him, Macan of Lismacain, near Sodhmacain (probably in Ballymacloon, where a Balimaking is named in 1287) was the first to attack and be slain, but stronger forces arrived. Essida, chief of Uí gCaisin, and Lorcan, King of Thomond, fell on him before the game was played out. They harried him about the woods and wilderness till, after three days, he was glad to surrender. Then Lorcan treated him with respect, escorting him out of the territory, and winning King Flann's chief poet, Flann mac Lonain,

¹ One of whom, Forannan, brother-in-law of King Guaire Aidhne (about 620) was actually the titular King of Thomond, or perhaps of the eastern part round Tulla.

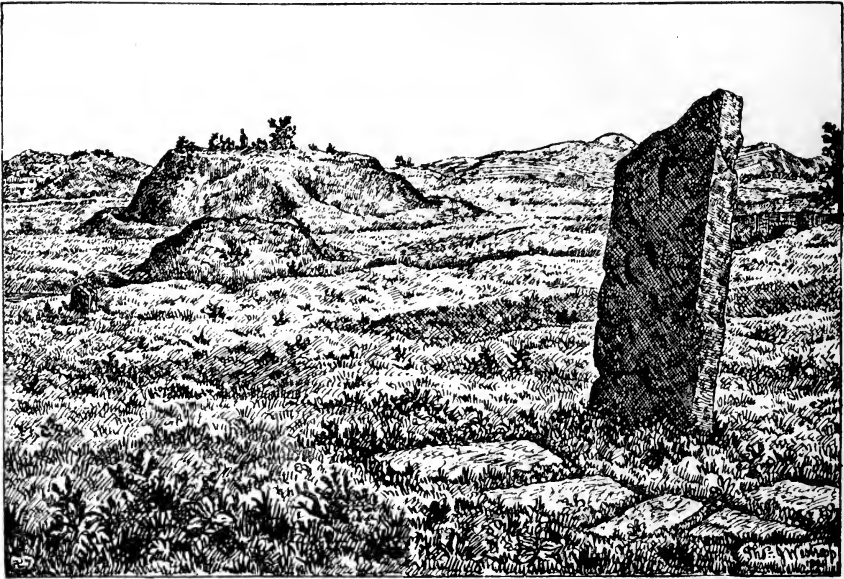


CREEVAGH FORT, NEAR MAGH ADHAIR



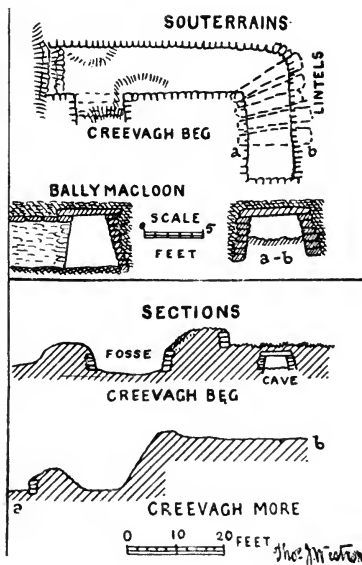
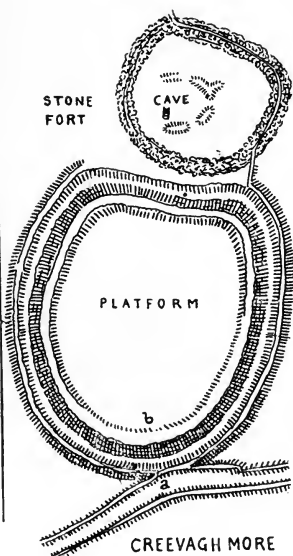
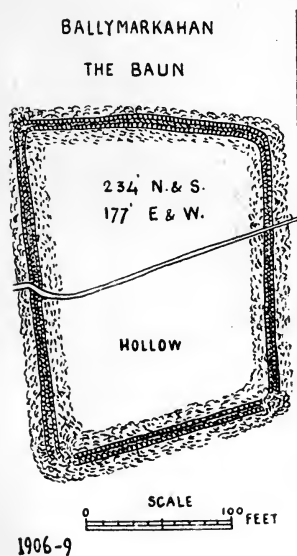
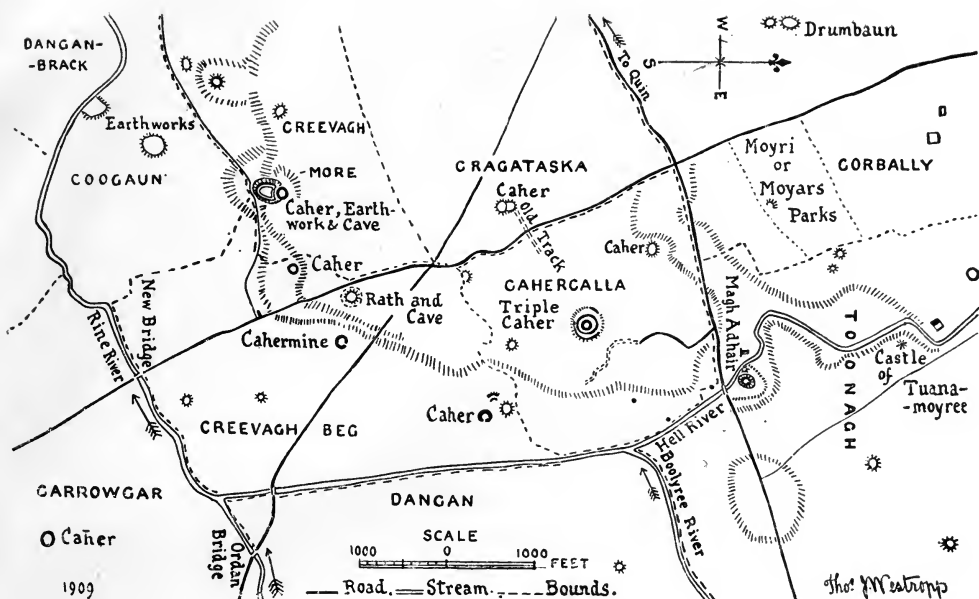
CAHERCALLA FORT, QUIN

who, becoming Lorcan's ardent admirer and panegyrist, left a poem in praise of Lorcan and "Essida of the Bay Steed," for their bravery and generous conduct. To this event Prince Brian alluded in A.D. 968, when rebuking his brother, King Mathgamhain, for his submission to the Danes. The older records (beside a vague allusion to a pillar) mention a *Bile* or venerated tree which the High King Maelsechnaill cut down, and had the roots dug out, in A.D. 981, to insult King Brian Boroimhe; who certainly had the best in the controversy by deposing the destroyer in A.D. 998. The Dal gCais planted another tree, which shared the fate of its predecessor, being cut down and rooted out by Aedh O Conchobhair,

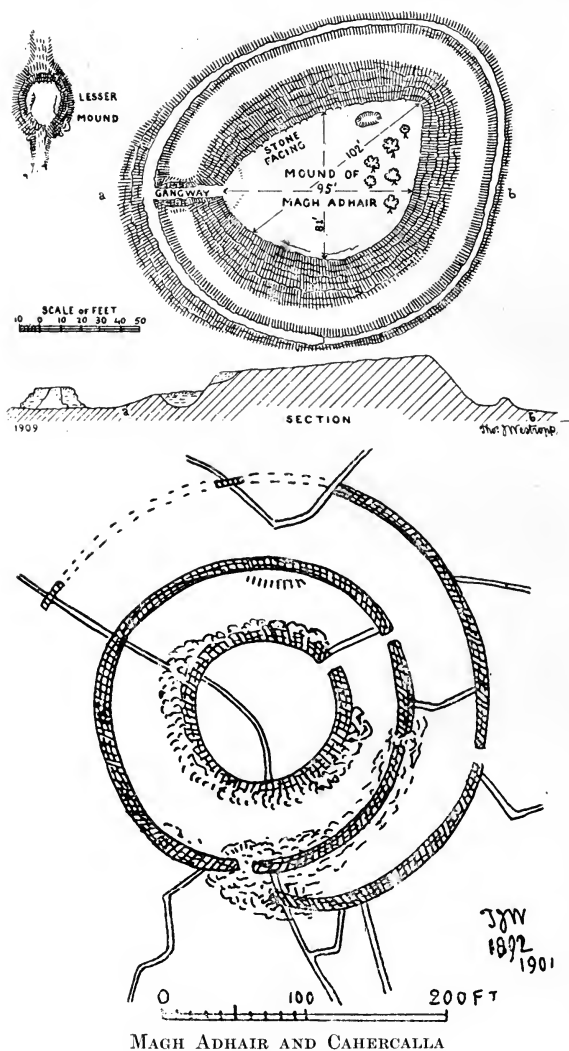


MAGH ADHAIR (PLACE OF INAUGURATION)

King of Connacht, in 1051. The long succession of Kings of Thomond was inaugurated there (we are especially rich in the record of such events from 1267 to 1313), down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and "Iraghts" of considerable local importance were held, down to the great famine, and were remembered even about 1890. In that year people only recalled besides that the mound was a place where a king was buried. The name is found in 1584 and 1652 as Moyree; Tuanaghmoyre and Tuanamoree (1683) being the townland of Toonagh, in which it lies. In 1839 two fields near it were "Moyross" or "Moyri Parks," one was still called "Moyars Park" after 1890. The remains consist of a flat-topped mote, pear-shaped in plan, 81 to 102 feet across the top and 23 feet high, with a fosse and outer ring across which a gangway leads to the summit on the west side. There are



slight traces of the foundation of a drystone wall round the top, and a rough slab of limestone. The mound stands in a small plain, in a natural amphitheatre, formed by a low crag called "the Beetle's Crag," or Craglakeeroe, beside the strangely named



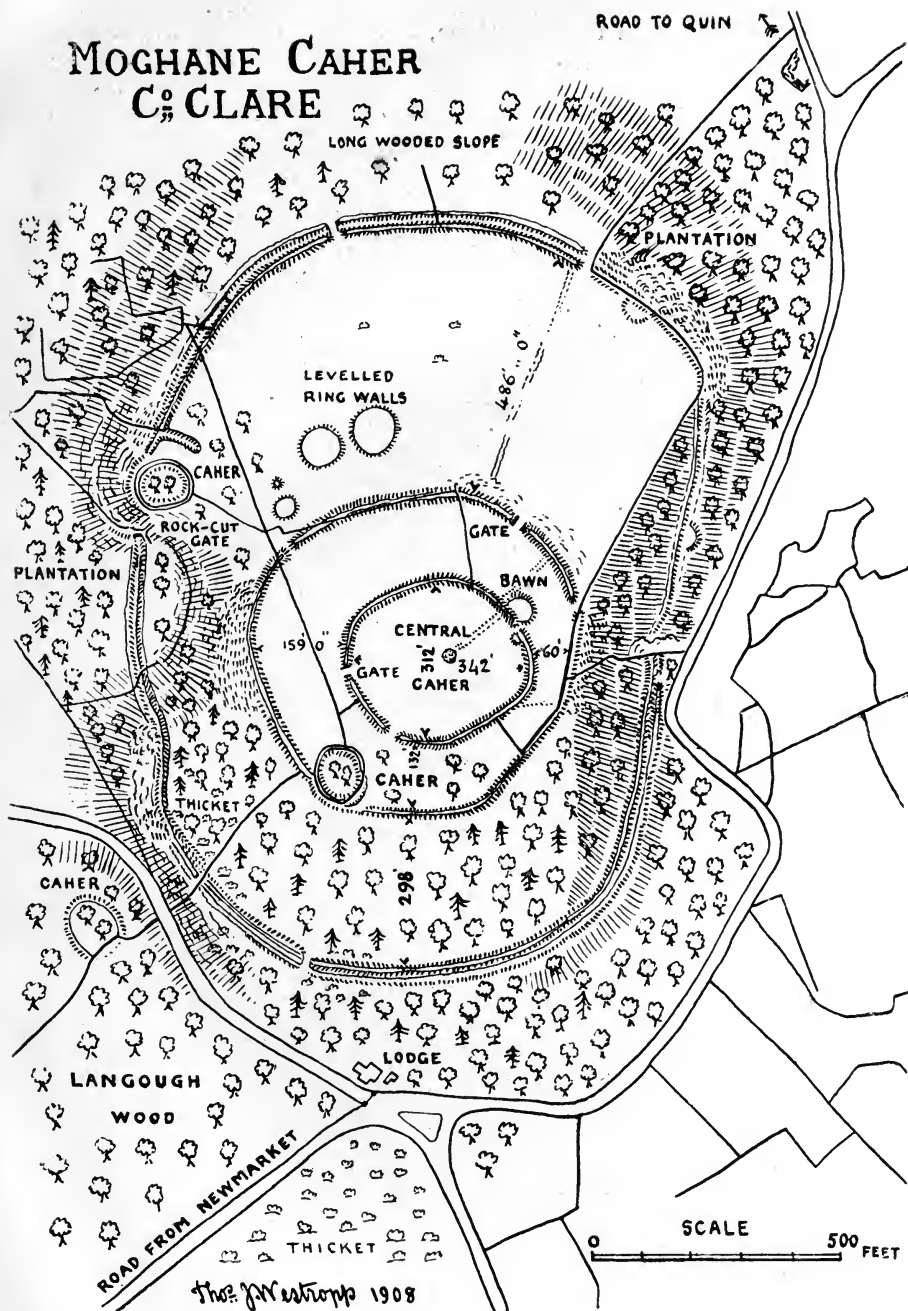
MAGH ADHAIR AND CAHERCALLA

"Hell Bridge" and "Hell River."¹ There are traces of a semi-circular fence, between which and the mound lies a large block of conglomerate (probably ice borne) of dull purple, with red and pink pebbles of porphyry and quartz; two basins are ground in it. There seems no evidence to show what part it played in the ceremonies.

¹ A Boolyree stream lies to the S.E., "the King's milking ground."

MOGHANE CAHER C^o CLARE

ROAD TO QUIN



Between the mound and the stream to the N.W. are a cairn of earth and a large block of stone, having an inclined way to the south, the cairn being 7 feet across on top and 10 feet high. Beyond the stream were two pillars; one had been broken, time out of mind; the other a coarse slab of limestone, is 6 feet 3 inches high, 3 feet wide, and 10 inches thick.

O'Brien was inaugurated by the chief of the Mac Namaras in presence of the chiefs of the other clans and the principal clerics. In some cases, as at the inauguration of Cathal Craoibhdhearg (O'Connor), who died 1224, we learn full particulars of the ceremonial.¹ The cairn or mound was palisaded, with a gate, guarded by three chiefs, a fourth alone ascended the cairn with Cathal and gave him the white rod. The other chiefs and the *comharbs* stood below, holding the Prince's arms, clothes and horse. He faced the north, and on stepping down from the inauguration stone on the mound, turned round thrice, as is still the custom in Co. Clare on seeing a new moon. He then descended from the mound and was helped to robe and remount. Martin, in his account of the inauguration of a Scottish chief 200 years ago,² describes a very similar ceremony. The chief stood on a heap of stones with his followers around, and his principal friend gave him his father's sword and a white rod. "The chief druid or orator stood close to the pyramid" and recited the chief's pedigree, achievements and liberality. We do not know what part the sacred tree or the basin played in the ceremony, or where either stood originally. There is a basin cut in the rock of Dunadd in Argyllshire close to the footprint which marks the inauguration place of the Dalriadic Kings. The inauguration place at *Ruaidh-bhacitheach* (or Roe-vehagh, in Galway), was a venerable red birch tree in a ring wall; another inauguration place was at Tullaghog, which had *bileadha* or sacred trees.

Probably at Magh Adhair the gate was at the gangway and was guarded by the subordinate chiefs, Mac Namara leading O'Brien to the summit, placing him on the rude stone slab, still remaining there, and turning him round to see his new territory in sight of the crowd in the amphitheatre. The panegyric may have been pronounced from the cairn and the chief then led to the Pillar and addressed as "O'Brien." From the analogy of Tullaghog, Roe-vehagh, and other places, the *Bile*, may have grown on the summit of the mound. Such a position is not uncommon. Many will remember a beautiful tree in such a position at Cloncurry, near the ruined church, and there is a sacred tree and pillar in Longstone fort, near Naas, and a sacred hawthorn bush and cross in the fort of Skeaghavanoo, between Corofin and Kells, in this county.

CAHERCALLA.—At no great distance there are in Cahercalla the considerable remains of a fine *Cathair*, with three rings of wall. The massive central cashel is about 100 feet inside, the walls 17 feet thick, and over 8 feet high; the gate is to the east. The outer walls are 9 to 10 feet thick and 6 to 7 feet high. It is

¹ O'Donovan's "*Hy Fiachrach*," p. 432.

² *Western Islands of Scotland* (1703), p. 101.

³ *Soc. Antt. Scotland* (1878), p. 28.

about 345 feet over all, but is featureless, and the outer ring is levelled to the N.W. It was demolished by a local farmer, who, being suddenly taken ill, desisted from the work of destruction. Iron implements were found in the walls.

Curious earthen forts (with a circular earthwork and ring wall and shield-shaped annexe beside it) remain at Creevagh and on Drumbaun Hill in Corbally, not far away. There is a small dolmen and cist, perfect, but of the most usual type, near Hazelwood House. We pass a nearly levelled ring wall, and an earthen liss on a hillock between Magh Adair and Quin.

MOGHANE FORT.—The Great Bronze Age hill-town (on a ridge over a shallow lake, called Lough Ataska, and in the Dromoland Demesne), is one of the largest forts of Ireland, and very remarkable in every respect. As we pass over the railway bridge, after leaving Quin, a lake and a low craggy knoll, cut by the line, are seen to the east. In the latter, in 1854, when the railway was being made, a cist was uncovered, just below the surface. A stone fell out, and a mass of gold ornaments were discovered; of course the workmen rushed upon them, a free fight took place, and "hats full of bracelets" and ingots were carried away, hidden, given for meal, or sold to goldsmiths, some escaped the melting pot and eventually reached the hands of antiquaries, but the "Great Clare gold find" was dispersed in every direction all over Europe. Even the owners of the soil, the O'Briens of Dromoland, only got a few specimens. The ornaments probably date over 500 years before Christ. There can be no doubt that they were plundered from the hill-town, and the enemy (probably finding themselves about to be attacked in force by the local warriors) buried them, and were no doubt subsequently defeated, if not exterminated, the hiding place being never discovered by the victors. The town was entirely overthrown, and so remained till, at a far later period, ring walls of the usual type were built upon its outer and middle walls.

The great fortress probably long preceded the Tradraige or any tribe which occupied the district even within the range of the earliest tradition, which never alludes to the fort. Indeed its first record is an Elizabethan Map, about 1590, which gives a rough sketch of the walled ridge and the name of Cahermoghna. Though a fine and most accurate map was made in 1839 by the Ordnance Survey the ruin was absolutely neglected by antiquaries. Drs. Graves and Todd, in 1854, when describing the gold find, call the place an earthwork, so does Mr. Robert O'Brien, in the notes on Dyneley's tour, and (so late as 1890) Mr. Wakeman called it "two large raths;" the first detailed account of it, and the very remarkable "palimpsest fort" of Langough, only appeared in the *Journal* in 1893. The only previous antiquaries who examined it were John Windele and W. Hackett, about 1856, but their account (hidden in the vast mass of untidy notes by Windele) was overlooked till very recently. They inspected only two of its walls, and hesitated whether it was artificial, though the ditch and regular heaps should have left no doubt. Elks' horns and antlers, they add, were found near it.¹ It can be best understood by the map kindly lent by the Royal Irish Academy.

¹ John Windele's *Topographical Appendix*, vol. i, p. 73, R. I. A.

Briefly it consists of three great rings of wall, the inner 20 to 22 feet thick, and 6 to 8 feet high, had gates to the W and E.N.E. the interior is 312 feet N. and S., 342 feet E. and W. "Traverse" walls run to the gaps, and a heap of small sandstone pebbles, near the E. gate may be a midden. The second wall is irregular, so as to fit on the platform, being from 159 feet to under 60 feet from the central fort, it is $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, of good blocks, 3 and 4 feet long, and has gates to the N. and E.N.E.; some traces of the lining slabs of the gate passages remain. The most imposing feature of the fort is where this wall has fallen in an avalanche down the west slope, and (before the trees grew up) this was clearly visible far westward beyond the Fergus. Just outside this wall, to the north, are traces of house rings. A *cathair* is built across its foundation to the S.W. The great outer rampart is some 4,400 feet round, it is usually 15 to 17 feet thick, and has a fosse, 15 to 18 feet wide, 3 to 5 feet deep, with an outer earthen mound, save where it crosses two craggy knolls. It does not follow the contours but plunges boldly into the amphitheatre to the west down to a gate (partly rock-cut, with sloping ramps and a hollow way), and again down the hill to the N.E. It measures over all 1,512 feet N. and S., 1,118 feet E. and W. The middle wall being 705 to 664 feet, and the inner 363 to 386 feet over all. A second later *cathair* is built upon the outer wall to the N.W. The summit commands a beautiful view. We see the Fergus Estuary and the Shannon, with the long chain of lakes, from Finlough to Kilkishen; the grey-terraced hills of Burren, and the blue flat-topped Mount Callan, far away to the N.W.; Aughty and Slieve Bernagh to the N.E. and E., and the distant Galtees and Ballyhoura hills. The towers of Ennis, Clare, and Quin "Abbeys," and the peel towers of Moghane, Ballymarkahan, Rossroe, Lisoffin, Creggane, and Danganbrack (so old to us and so modern compared with the ruin heaps around), are visible. The town of Ennis is clearly seen, and the picturesque towers of Dromoland in their deep woods. Far away the church-crowned hill of Tulla is just visible, where St Mochulla and his seven converts entrenched his monastery against the hostile Kings, Forannán and Guaire Aidhne, thirteen centuries ago. Even then Moghane Fort had already lain in weather-beaten ruin for perhaps a millennium or more.

MOGHANE CASTLE.—The Castle of Moghane is so typical and perfect an example of its class that it deserves a somewhat fuller description than some other peel towers on our route. It is a small tower, 44 feet long, and 29 feet 6 inches wide; like most of these buildings it is of two sections, one with the stair-case, porch and guard-room and small bed-rooms over the two last, the other with the main rooms. The door is in the north, with the spiral stair to the left, and the guard-room to the right. The stair has 103 steps; the main floors are at the 37th, 55th, and 79th steps; the cross passages at the 22nd and 65th steps. The basement or store is a simple vaulted room with a narrow slit and an attic. The porch has a neatly recessed pointed door, commanded by a "murder-hole," as such trap-doors are called in Co. Clare, to shoot and throw missiles and scalding

water on any assailants who had broken through the outer door of the porch. The small rooms have doors from the stair-case, small windows and ambreys or cupboards. There are 8 small rooms over the porch, the lower vaulted, then two under the next vault; the north windows are closed. The two cross passages run over the ends of the main rooms. Of these latter the 5th floor is the most interesting; it has a fine plain fire-place of cut limestone, with a little shield bearing in raised letters the inscription "T. Mc MO . Mc/ N(EMARA). ME . FIERI/FECIT . IN . A . D . /1610." The curious subsidiary stairs running straight up the wall to the spiral stair is unusual. In the south wall is a double-light, trefoil-headed window with large flagged splay; the window is modernized. There is a curious corbelled recess in the N.W. corner. In the N. wall is another large round-headed light, the west, trefoil, the east, pointed. The large chimneys are late, probably of 1610, and crowd up the water table; there are machicolations in the battlements. A fine general view of the great fort was once attainable, but the trees have grown up and are shutting it out. Beyond the fact that the tower was a Macnamara castle, built about 1480, little but the names of a few of its owners have been recorded. The tower is girt by a small fortified enclosure, and overlooks a pretty little glen. East Co. Clare is very rich in these towers, some 66 are said to have been built by the Macnamaras, chiefs of Clan-cuilean, those of Castle Fergus (Ballyhanan), Rosroe, Cleenagh, Dromline, Danganbrack, Mountcashel, and Kilkishen are nearly perfect. Moghane owes its exceptional preservation to the fact that it was one of the towers retained for the accommodation of Parliamentary garrisons. These were Ballyalla, Ralahine (a tower like Moghane, and not very far away), Cloghenabeg, Danganbrack, Brian's Castle, Inchicronan, Inchiquin, Dysert, Smithstown, Moghane, and probably Carrigaholt, Clare Castle, Clonroad, Bally-car, and Bunratty.

† For a section of this tower, see *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, ser. iii, vol. v. p. 353.

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For Moghane Fort see *Journal*, xxiii, p. 281, *Ancient Forts of Ireland*, Fig. 19, section 79, *Trans., R. I. Academy*, vol. xxxi, p. 648; *Proc. R. I. A.*, ser. iii, vol. vi, p. 140.

Ibid., vol. xxvi (c), pp. 218, *Archaeological Inst. Journal*, 1854, No. 41, p. 181.

For the Gold Find see *R. I. A. Catalogue of Gold Ornaments*, pp. 31-3; *Proc. R. I. A.*, vol. vi, p. 113; *Journal (R. S. A. I.)*, vol. iii (1854-5), p. 287; vol. iii, p. 181; Windele, *Topographical MSS.*, Appendix, vol. i; *MSS., R. I. A.*, p. 73.

SECTION V

CARRIGOGUNNELL, ASKEATON AND ADARE

CARRIGOGUNNELL.

This extremely picturesque castle (more like one on the Rhine than like the average ruined castle on the Shannon) rises on a bold volcanic rock in the angle made by the Shannon and the Maigne. The buildings are of well cut limestone; the Keep is to the N. W. and is over 50 feet high, with 5 stories and a spiral stair, it had a great circular bastion, perhaps older than the rest of the building, and a late (probably 16th century) house adjoins the east. A long range of older buildings (part being so strangely shattered by gunpowder that one stair-case turret lies blown in one piece from its base) runs along the western flank of the rock. The lower court is rough and over-grown, with a hall at the N. E. angle and a gate and sloping way to the south; the only other entrance is a small postern to the west.

The place is first named in 1209, when "Carrac Ui Conaing" was granted to Donnchad Cairbreach, King of Thomond. No record remains for over a century; then a branch of the O Briens seems to have crossed the Shannon, settled there, and overspread the old Norman Manor of Esclon,¹ and southward, up the Maigne, their territory being represented by the barony and name of Pubblebrian; this is said to have been about 1336, but their chief's ancestor of the later O Briens of Carrigogunnell, Tadhg na Glenore (O'Brien), was King of Thomond in 1426, and it seems doubtful whether his descendants obtained the place and built the castle much before 1450. The castle first appears in history in 1536; Lord Grey, the Lord Deputy, marched to "the very strong castle called Carekogunyel, and in English Candell Rock," "it stands on a high rock and . . . is the key of all the county." The owner, "Mat" (Mahon) O Byrne, surrendered it on condition that the Government should hold it themselves. State pledges were broken as easily then as now. Grey was about to give it to one Donoth O Byrne, ignoring his promise, when by a plot of Edmond Sexton and his wife (as their enemies alleged, but Grey acquitted them) it was put back into the hands of "Matthew's" warder, so it had to be attacked, and one of its towers was taken on the night of August, 22; the keep surrendered next morning, and Edmond Cahill, the warder, and all its garrison were brought to Limerick, tried and hanged. The Crown claimed the castle, apparently on the

¹ Possibly the lands of a small tribe of the Tuath Luimneach group, the Aes Cluana, otherwise unrecorded. I see no reason to regard Carrigogunnell as the castle of Esclon. The castle and church of Newtown Esclon lay northward near the Shannon.

unfounded statement that the O Briens held from "Lord Clerre," probably Richard De Clare, whose lands had reverted to the Crown. Donough was established in it, but he abused his powers and was deprived for extortion. Mahon used to claim a penny for each barrel of wine, and 2 pence for every other barrel brought to Limerick. The older name was used, about 1580, being *Carrig Gunning* in the valuable "Hardiman map," 63, about that year, and *Carykgonyn* in Mercator's map. Donough's son, Brian Duff, was confirmed in it and nearly all the present Pubblebrian. Much, but of little interest, is told about him and his successors. The castle played no part in the wars of 1640 to 1651; Capt. Wilson took it over and built a stable there in that year. It had been



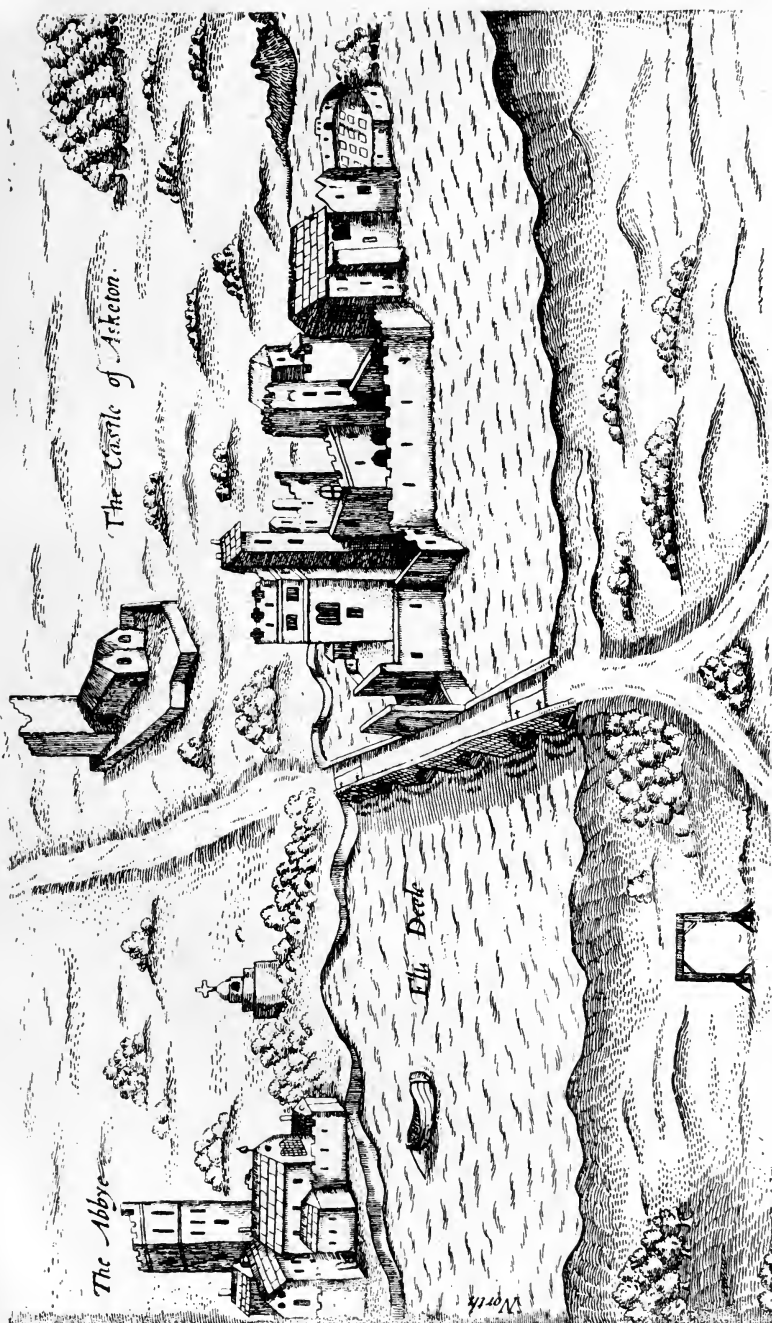
CARRIGO Gunnell

prudently sold by its last owner, Donough O'Brien, to Michael Boyle (afterwards Archbishop of Dublin), and had a castle, bawn, a few thatched huts, and a salmon fishery. In Aug., 1691, its garrison of 150 men surrendered without resistance to S'Gravenmore, and Ginkell had it blown up in the following September. Legend (invented to account for the supposed meaning of its corrupt name) told of a death-dealing candle whose light after night-fall slew all that saw it. St Patrick, or one of Finn's warriors, Regan, scaled the rock, destroyed the light, and sprang away just in time from the irate sorceress of the candle. One late legend made her hurl a huge rock (still called *Clochregan*) far to the S. of the castle after the hero. Another made St Patrick pursue a demon bull to Adare, where he slew it at the Ford of *Ath Tairbh*.

ASKEATON.

Co. Limerick is fortunate in possessing three such groups of ruins as Adare, Askeaton, and Kilmallock, besides detached monasteries and castles in great abundance.

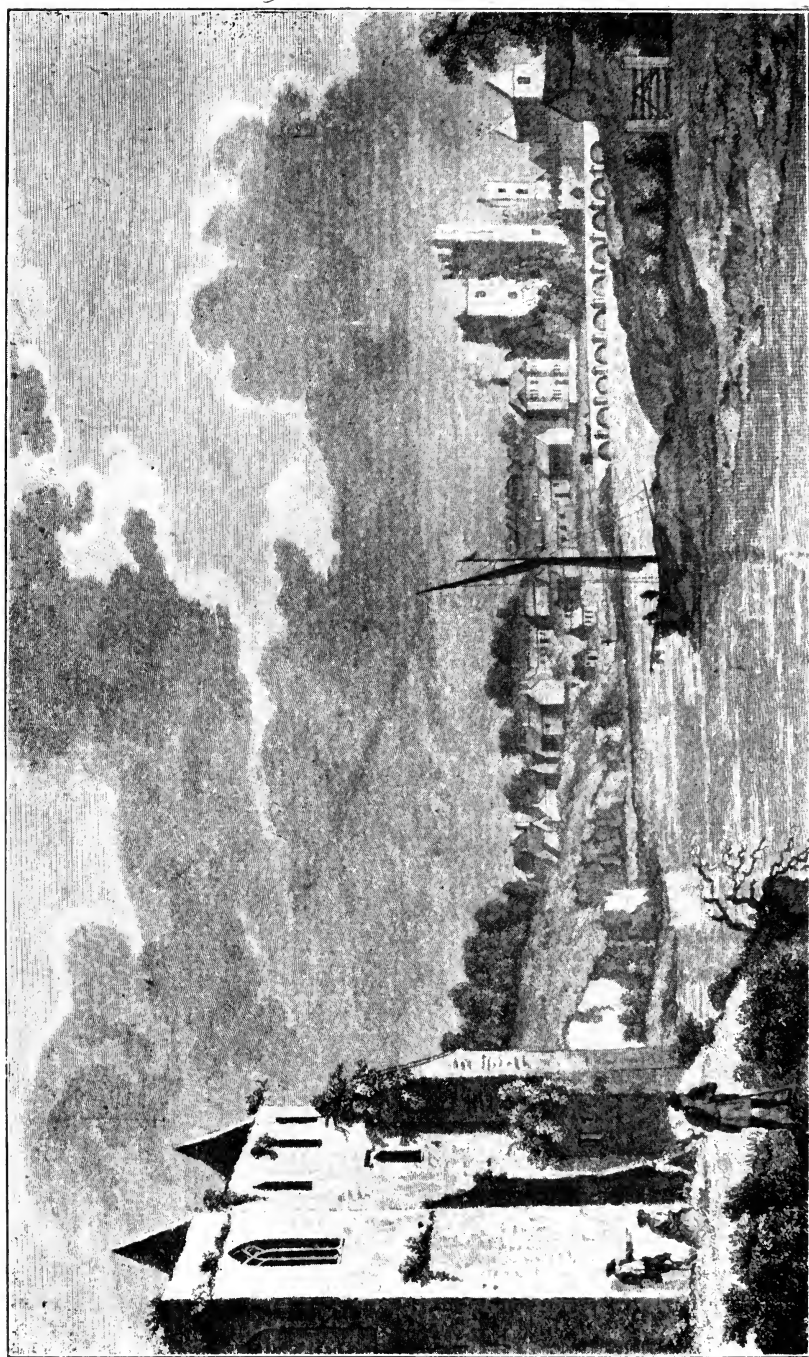
Askeaton is first mentioned in the list of the royal forts reserved to the King of Cashel in the *Book of Rights*. The document is probably dated about A.D. 900. The place is there called Geibhtine, this is the name of a "pre-Celtic" race, the Gebtini, who settled on the south bank of the Shannon, according to early documents cited by Duaid Mac Firbis. The Castle of Easgephthine was built in 1199, and was on a manor of Hamo de Valoignes (or William de Burgo, who held it till it was restored to Hamo in right of inheritance). The manor was called Hinniskefty (Inis Geibhthine) in 1203. It belonged to Richard de Clare, Lord of Bunratty, in 1318, when he fell at Dysert O Dea. The name occurs under many strange disguises, in abundant documents, from 1200 onward—Iniskefly, Ineskeftyn, Imkisti, Inisketty, Hineskefti, Hinchesti, Jyskefty, and Iniskettin, Asgoptiny and Askettin—the meaning being the waterfall (*Eas*) or island (*Inis*) of the Gebtini, not "the cascade of the hundred fires," or "the fall of the hawthorn fire," as certain pundits (old and new) have rendered it. The place lacks the beauty of Adare, though its wide views to the hills of Co. Clare and the mote Castle of Shanid are pleasing. The muddy tidal river and ugly little town and quays spoil the otherwise handsome ruins. The church was dedicated to St. Mary, and belonged to the Abbey of Keynsham, in Somerset, to which it and many churches in the county had been granted, evidently by Hamo. Lewis and other purveyors of imaginary history state that it was a preceptory of Templars, but that hapless order only held a garden plot in Limerick City on their suppression. Perhaps, as at Adare, there was a hospital, and (as the Hospitallers obtained much of the Templars' possessions) later ages imagined that every hospital had been a Templars' priory. We have a list of the families living at Iniskyfty, in 1348. The Nasshe family were long connected with the place, and their tomb may be seen in the Friary. The Geraldines appear as its owners about this period. Maurice Fitz Maurice, late Earl of Desmond, had held the manor till his death about ten years later; and in 1367 John Maltravers held it, presumably under the Earls. The Friary was founded in 1389 (or 1420) for Franciscans; the later date, given by the *Four Masters*, probably, like so many of their "foundation dates" (notably "1402" at Quin, which existed before 1350), represents enlargement or repairs. The founder was probably Gerald, "the Poet-Earl," whose mysterious disappearance has given him a place among the enchanted chiefs of Ireland at Lough Gur, across whose waters he rides, once in seven years, till his horse's silver shoes are worn out and the spell broken. Many features of the monastery, however, belong to the time of a later reputed "founder," really a restorer, James the 7th Earl of Desmond, to whom, about 1459, the keep of the castle may probably be assigned. The



ASKEATON IN 1599 (*Pacata Hibernia*)

"Abbey" was reformed to the Strict Observance in 1497 and formally given over to the Observantines in 1513. In 1541, as we saw, the Knight of Glin gave Cappagh to the friars at a meeting held in their chapter house under the presidency of John, Bishop of Limerick. Of the manor and castle we have a full survey in the curious Geraldine "Rental of Oconyll" in 1452.

In 1558, James Earl of Desmond, and in 1564, Joan, wife of James Butler, 9th Earl of Ormond, and daughter of James, 11th Earl of Desmond, were buried in the monastery. Russell (a 17th century historian of the Fitz Gerald's) tells a tragic tale to account for the more tragic fall of the proud house of Desmond. The overseer of Garrett, the hapless "Rebel Earl," used to harrass the monks and distrain their cattle; one day his own cattle strayed into their lands and were impounded. In blind rage he rushed to the friary and asked to see the Guardian, whom he stabbed mortally and fled. The Countess was bribed by the outlaw's wife, with "plate and many other fine and gay things, to intercede for the slayer." The weak Earl, as ever, was wax in the hands of his masterful wife and forgave the culprit. But the sacrilege cried to Heaven unappeased, so the Earl was lured into rebellion to his ruin and the terrific devastation of the province, and, men said, those who betrayed him to his pitiable death in that lonely glen in Kerry were sons of the murderous overseer. History does nothing to bear out the tale, which, like most folk-stories, may, however, be partly authentic. The first shadow of later ruin lay in the Crown coveting "the Earl's House of Askeating" in 1569. The Earl's complaints to the local Ahabs get bitter in 1573, and at last the weak, proud, vacillating man played at treason with all the stronger malcontents and made half-hearted efforts to cajole and blind the Government till the rising of Sir John of Desmond in 1569. The Earl and his force marched to Tory Hill to witness the battle of Monasteranenagh (where Sir John and the Papal Legate, Saunders, were defeated) so as to be able to join with the victors at first heat. He again lost heart, would not face the English, and fled back to Askeaton. He vainly tried to outwit and conciliate the victor, Malbie, but his friend Sir William Drury had just died and Malbie marched on Askeaton. Garrett shut himself up in the castle (which Malbie had no artillery to take), and saw the monastery, town and crops burned, and any of the monks and his followers who had not fled in time ruthlessly slain. A monk and a soldier were hanged as a warning, his ancestral tomb was battered to pieces, and the devastator marched away from the blood-stained ashes of the town. A month later Garrett was proclaimed a traitor, and, unwillingly, forced into open rebellion four days after. The Earl of Ormond, hereditary enemy of his house, raided to Askeaton, but (as so often) the Government sent him cannons, but no munitions, so nothing could be gained save the Earl's stud of horses. Only in the next year, after the siege of Carrigfoile, when the terror of their cannon was fresh, the English appeared before the stronghold of Askeaton, April 3rd, 1580; a few shots sufficed, as soon as night settled down the garrison fled, too hurriedly to do more than blow up a bit of wall and burn some out-buildings, and Askeaton was lost to the Geraldines.



ASKEATON (Sandby, 1779)

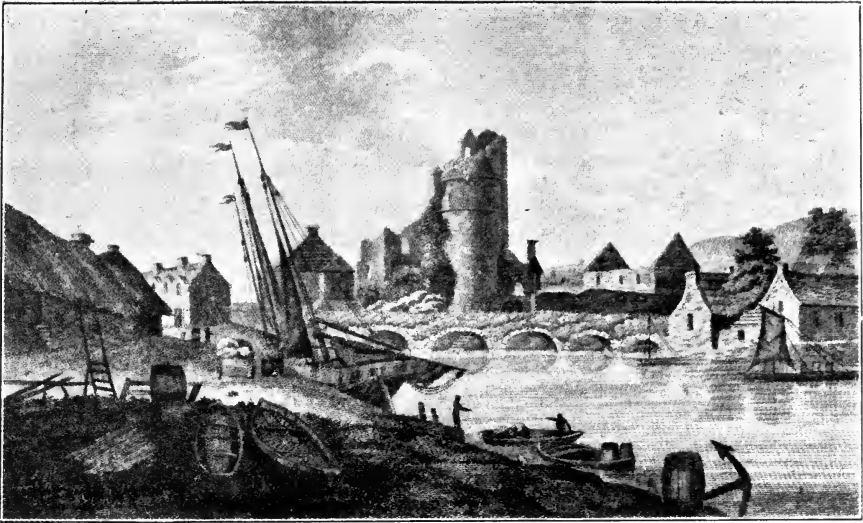
Not to follow the ghastly tale of the great Desmond rebellion, the English repaired the castle and put it in charge of Captain Edward Berkeley of the family of Bruton in Somerset. The new Castellan had eventually to return to Bristol. His deputy secretly favoured the rebels, Desmond even ventured back to Askeaton to consult with the friars, but he attempted nothing, drifted away, and finally met his tragic end in November, 1583.

The great Surveys of Peyton and the Desmond Roll give us a minute account, in execrable Latin, of the complicated estates, and in some respects a more vivid impression of the vast ruin in their dry cold entries, on the slaying, execution, or ruin of each tenant, than the most oratorical histories. Edward Berkeley was Castellan till 1589, then his brother Francis was granted the manor, called now "Rockbarkeley," along with the friary and the custody of the castle. Here he was besieged by James "the Sungan Earl" of Desmond, a nobler man and better soldier than Garrett, in 1598; the siege was only raised by Essex in the following June, after the battle of Rower, near Adare, and Berkeley was knighted for his defence of the place. The castle was again blockaded by James, but the latter was betrayed and taken in a cave in the south-east of the county in 1601, and the Rebellion ended. Berkeley, a humane man for those days, treated his tenants and "Irish" neighbours so well that he fell under censure of the Government. It is interesting to find that he befriended Philip the O'Sullivan Beare, the well known historian, and employed Irish labourers.

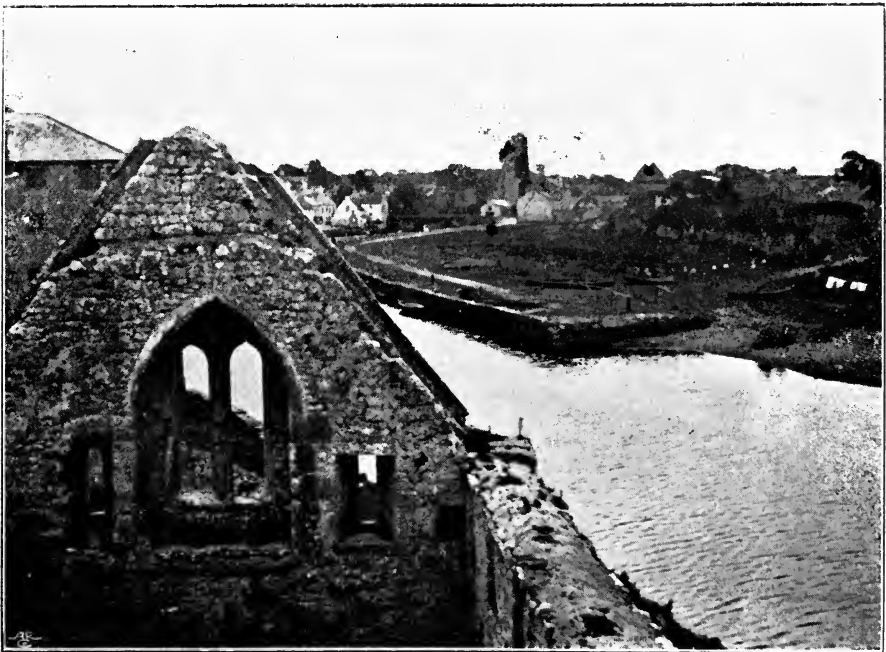
Askeaton was incorporated by charter in 1612, and returned two members to Parliament till the Union, save during the Commonwealth. Berkeley's care brought back the place to some degree of prosperity. On his death, 1615, his sons Maurice and Henry, and eventually, 1625, their three sisters, who had married William Courtney, George Crofton, and John Taylor, succeeded to the estates, some of which are still held by their descendants.¹

The friars returned to their ruined convent in 1627, and the list of Guardians from 1629 to 1650 is unbroken. Colonel Purcell besieged the garrison in the castle, and they surrendered, under terms, in 1642. Next year the friary was carefully repaired and the monument of the Stephensons dates three years later. In 1647 the bodies of the monks slain in 1578 were reinterred with much ceremony. The monks, of course, fled after 1651, and the next appointment of a guardian was in 1661. The lists of Guardians from 1714 to 1872 are evidently merely nominal, as, unlike Quin and other friaries, none of the brethren seem to have clung to the neighbourhood. If tradition tell the truth, the Cromwellians (who dismantled the castle) undermined the keep, propping it with timber, and then kindled a great fire which, when the props burned away, brought down the eastern half of the great tower. An attempt was vainly made to get the Government to repair it as a barrack in 1712. From the Taylor family the place passed by an heiress to the Barons Massey.

¹ It must be understood that the Berkeleys of Killeenoghty, Ballycahane, Tory Hill, and other places near Croom were a different branch, and were settled in Co. Limerick nearly three centuries before their namesakes settled at Askeaton.



ASKEATON CASTLE (G. Holmes, 1799)



ASKEATON FROM FRIARY

THE RUINS.

THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY.—Only the belfry and the chancel remain, the latter crowded with the burial places of the Taylors of Ballinort and Hollypark and the Westroppps of Ballysteen. There are no very old monuments; tradition says that some in the old church were stowed away in one of the vaults. The church in the view in *Pacata Hibernia* seems to have had two parallel aisles, like the Black Abbey at Adare. The belfry is square below and octagonal above; the upper part seems to have had large Gothic opes and battlements, but was greatly defaced, and has lately been repaired. The stonework of the east window of the chancel is removed. The side window has a curious ogee head turning back in little crocket-like leaves. This, the only feature, may date about 1450.

DESMOND'S CASTLE.—This occupies an oval islet, the ancient *Inis Geibhtine*; the earlier fort probably occupied the rock platform at the keep. An old picturesque bridge crosses the Deel at the north end of the islet. It is well described in the *Desmond Roll* (1583) as "an excellent castle, formerly a chief house of the late Earl of Desmond, in good repair, on a little island on a rock and surrounded on all sides by a rivulet. It contains two separate *coorts* and one *balne* (bawn) with divers strong buildings . . . a large hall, a great vaulted room, with three cellars . . . a triangular garden, in which is a fish pond, &c." The battlemented wall remains to the north-west, but the gateway is gone. The great Hall, or "Desmond's Hall," is a stately structure of the 15th century, with several vaulted rooms underneath and a small chapel at the south end; above the vaults is a stately apartment with large rich windows, now much defaced, to the north end and the sides, with a corbelling to the south. The keep stands on the rock-platform, and is about 90 feet high, with a projecting west turret, in which are several vaulted rooms, one with a massive, bolt-studded oaken door. The main tower has two vaulted stories and an upper room, most of the stairs are broken away. To the south was a large residence with an under vault and two stories above it, one with a handsome fireplace. The platform is reached by a ramp or sloping way, the gate of which is destroyed. Beside it is the ruined elub house, traditionally reputed (like so many others, and probably on as baseless a tradition) to have been a "Hell Fire Club" in the middle of the 18th century.

THE FRANCISCAN FRIARY OR "ROCK ABBEY."—This extensive and interesting ruin stands on the east bank of the Deel, in an amphitheatre of crags, and commands a pleasing view of the river and castle. It consists of a church and transept to the north, with a beautifully arcaded cloister to the south, round which are vaulted rooms to the east and west, the latter said to be the chapter house. A projecting wing is possibly the refectory. The upper rooms are reached by a staircase, partly modern, at the south-west corner; the little prison and garderobes are curious; note an unusual cruciform window in the south vaulted room. The bells of the friary were recently dug up not far from the south-east porch. The cloister (save one bay, of which the pillars were removed to allow the bringing of coffins into the garth) is in fine preservation. The



DESMOND'S CASTLE, ASKEATON, FROM NORTH



DESMOND'S CASTLE, ASKEATON, FROM WEST

little crocketed niche with a figure of St. Francis, showing the stigmata, will be found at the north-east angle in the north walk, and in 1875 was reputed to cure toothache. The ornaments on the base of the door piers leading into the church are well carved. The church had a large battlemented bell-tower with string courses. Unfortunately it has been entirely removed; neither the view in *Pacata Hibernia*, circa 1599, nor one in a 17th century map, make certain where it stood. I incline to locate it at the space half way up the church, where such towers are very frequently inserted, most being later than the church. Mr. C. O'Brien considers that it stood outside at the west end of the sacristy and next the transept, as it does at Canon's Island Abbey in the Shannon.

Many fragments of an ornate altar tomb, with a richly groined canopy, are heaped in the sedilia. There is a fine row of these seats and panels beneath the south windows of the chancel, with the Stephenson monument in the south-east angle. Its inscription reads:

"D. O. (M.) Nobilissimo D(omino) Richardo Stephenson ejus filio D. Olivero Stephenson ac posteris suis hoc bustum fieri fecerunt D. Margarita ni Brien et D. Elinora Browne Anno Domini 1646."

Under it was a "chronogram":

"Epitaphium Ch(ronograp) hicum hic Oliverus inc (st genitu)s genitorque Richar(dus) Stephenson el(eri candor) uterque choro est (Anno) 1642."

The bracketed parts were on the central stone, now lost, so the chronogram letters cannot be entirely recovered as the copyist who preserved it¹ does not indicate them.

The altar is plain, the east window is of the type so familiar at Adare (so simple, and yet from its system of curved interlacings so beautiful); the gable (like those of the Black Abbey of Adare) is battlemented. The transept has a west aisle; the north-east angle and much of the adjoining walls and windows were evidently blown up, and huge rock-like fragments lie outside. Note the richer device of the window between the transept and the Sacristy. The latter is a vaulted room with neat ornaments on its east window and an over room, once reached by a stair, of which only the lower steps remain. There are several interesting monuments of the 16th century, chiefly Calvary crosses, one breaking into ivy leaves but without inscription, and a figure of a saint set in the wall.² Inside, in the west end of the nave, is an interesting tablet. It is carved with the square and compass, anchor and I.H.S. above, and has an inscription recording that John O'Driscoll put it up in memory of his father, Edmund, who died Jan. 3rd, 1780, and another Edmund, Nov. 15th, 1798. Requiescat in pace. The Irish epitaph is rendered by John O'Donovan:—

"Alas, O flag! good is thy treasured up companion

Though strong is man he must be one day weak in clay

There is no lord or chief in [the enjoyment of] action leap or agility

And the Shannon is barren since Edmond is laid under thee."

¹ Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Limerick, and Rev. J. Dowd's *Round about Co. Limerick*.

² It was popularly said to be St. Patrick, the elaborately curved edge of his robes being regarded as serpents.



THE CLOISTER, ASKEATON FRIARY (Dr. G. J. Fogerty)

ADARE—THE HISTORY.

Adare, "the ford of the oaks," is one of the most attractive and interesting spots in Ireland. Though lacking the noble settings of mountains or any wide prospect, such as we find at Killaloe and in the south of Co. Limerick, it has its peculiar wealth of quiet beauty, apart even from the picturesque ruins, which alone would lead us to visit its fields. The venerable trees, the willows, osiers, and shrubs along its banks (though one be too late to see them in the glory of their gold, crimson and brown twigs, loaded with the soft grey, silver, green and yellow catkins of later April), the smooth rich fields, the coots playing on the surface, the great dragon flies fanning the reeds—the leap of the fish—the still reaches—glassy above the weirs—the chaos of tumbling waters falling below—make a lovely series of pictures. Here down a glade, or across a bend of the river, we see the lofty tower, stepped battlements and white shafted windows of a monastery, the two quaint old bridges, the strong keep and towers of the Desmond's Castle, or the fine Tudor mass of the modern Manor House. Other ruins visited may be of equal beauty or interest, but none are in such a princely setting.

Adare, standing at the head of the tideway, which flows up to its castle walls, was, to the mediaeval traders, a port of call, though commerce has long refused to turn up the narrow winding channel between the deep mud banks, which the flat-bottomed ships of the 13th and 14th centuries found so congenial. Lord Dunraven was surprised at the huge mass of oyster shells found under the castle walls, but it was very easy to bring in loads from the rich beds of Poulanishery, down the Shannon, doubtless wine and spices, with rich foreign clothing, came in to the burgesses of Adare, up to the old timber bridge at the ford, whose piling was found below its now venerable successor. It was natural that the English Government, still energetic and masterful (before the paralysing reign of Henry III had lasted long enough to weaken it), determined to build a large castle to protect the ford and hold the recently subdued tribes of Kenry in check. The first question, however, is what was the earlier state of affairs, and was so notable a place without history or antecedents before Geffry de Mareys decided to fortify it? It is disappointing to say that, so far, no written record of an earlier past is extant in the Annals. The venerable "Book of Rights" in its list of royal forts in County Limerick names Geibhtine or Askeaton, Ratharda, or Rathurd, near Limerick, and Aenach Cairpre (or Rathmore), near Monasteranenagh, but no fort at Adare appears. The elaborate inquiries of Meyler fitz Henry, in 1201 and 1204, named nearly every parish church in the diocese except Adare. Had it therefore no past before 1220?

There was at least a fort, dug in the marshy bank of the Maigue, and probably at least as old as the 9th century; close to this was a church, perhaps of the late 11th century, but its founder's name was overlaid by the later dedication to St Nicholas, the favourite patron of the Anglo-Norman traders and sailors, who settled in the little "port." All Irish tradition had vanished; unlike places in



CLOISTER, FRANCISCAN FRIARY, ASKEATON



STEPHENSON MONUMENT AND SEDILIA, ASKEATON

the adjoining counties, it may have been that there was no overlap even in the church authorities, and only the place names survived. One of these, the rising ground below the castle on the Maigue, named Ardshanbally, implies that the older village stood on the east side of the river, but it is certainly strange that while the churches of Cluonsiebria (Clonshire), Kylcharli (Kilcurley) and even the insignificant oratory of Kilgobbin, are named in the earliest years of Norman rule, Adare never appears. The place lay in the tribal district of Ui Cairbre, on the edge of the old, probably "pre-Celtic" tribes of the Caenraighe and Gebtini and of the Tuath Luimneach, who surrounded the Ostmen settlements from Carrigogunnell to Castleconnell, the two fortified rocks which preserve (in corrupt form) the name of the chief family, the Ui gConaing or O Gunnings. The Irish tradition was so lost (even among the Irish) in 1830 that people rendered the name *Ath tairbh*, the "ford of the Bull," and told of a demon bull, pursued by St Patrick from the disenchanted rock of Carrigogunnell to the ford on the Maigue, where the Saint destroyed it.

In 1226, Geffry de Marisco got a grant from the Crown permitting him to hold a fair on the 8 days after the Feast of St James, in his Manor of Adare. This sign of settlement makes it probable that he had already "encastled" the place. Whether, however, the great stone keep rose on the earlier ring fort is quite uncertain; more likely he dug the long baily, or annexe (till the river filled the outer fosse) palisading its earthworks and erecting a bretasche or wooden turret on the fort he had adopted as the "mote" of his castle. Still the stone buildings of the Keep and the Hall near the water tower seem very early (the Hall window indeed might be of the later 12th century), but masons were conservative, and it is imprudent to dogmatize. The importance of Adare certainly began with the Normans. Ere long (but the alleged date, 1230, seems unsupported by any record of credit), a monastery was founded to the west of the river for Trinitarian Monks of the Order of the Redemption of Captives, an excellent society for the humane object of redeeming from the duress of the Moslem the captives taken in war or by Pirates. Eventually fair houses of the Augustinians and Franciscans and a Hospital were founded. A certain "Master Tyrrell" was Vicar of Adare, between 1230 and 1250, he witnessed a charter of Hubert de Burgh, Bishop of Limerick. Adare, however is plunged in deep obscurity till 1290, when we find it one of a group of Manors, with Castle Robert, Cromyth (Croom), Wyrgidy (near Uregare, in the S.E. of the county), and Grene (Pallas Green), in the east. They were held by Agnes de Valence, the King's cousin, wife of Maurice FitzGerald, and Juliana de Cogan, their daughter, who enfeoffed John de Verdun with them. The Geraldines had been granted Crumrech Castle and lands so early as 1215 by King John. The chief local family, under the Lords of the Manor, was a branch of the widespread Russels, who bore the Irish soubriquet "Creevagh," which, later on, in the shortened form "Creagh," superseded their older name. In Elizabeth's reign one of those family legends (which "darkened knowledge" till more critical research discredited them) claimed that the Creaghs had

been O Neills, who, bearing branches in their helmets, in a victorious battle, took the surname "Creagh." Certainly, from about 1580 onward, the "branches" are conspicuous in their coat of arms, where they now form the main device. The Cadewolys, the Whites, and other Welsh and Norman families were among the early burgesses of Adare.

Next to the church and castle, the oldest building is the Trinitarian Monastery. It is the only certain house of that noble order



ASKEATON FRIARY—WEST END OF NAVE

in Ireland. Unfortunately the historians¹ of the order have surrounded it with such webs of disproved legends (all contradictory) that it is scarcely possible, even if worth the toil, to judge which is the least unreliable. The least improbable statement tells how its founder was Thomas Fitz Gerald, seventh Lord of Offaly, but gives the dates at 1272, not 1230; probably no shadow of truth as to its foundation reached the voluminous and unreliable writers of the 17th century, our only "authorities," falsely so called. It is said

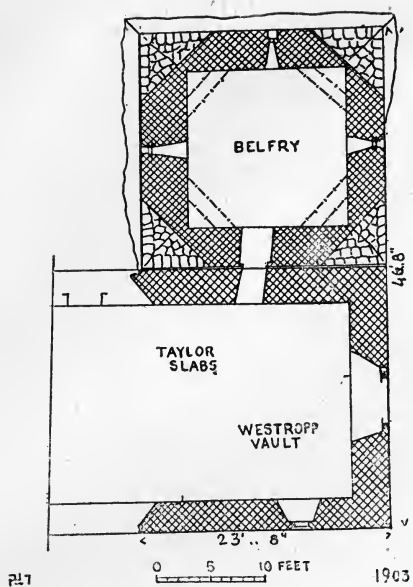
¹ Especially Bonaventura Baron (or Baronius) who enjoys undeserved reputation through being confused with the really learned annalist, Cardinal Baronius, living a century earlier.

that its monks were brought from Aberdeen. It was dedicated to St James, and it will be recalled that the fair, established at Adare in 1235, was connected with his feast. If the earlier alleged date for its foundation, 1230, be correct, this is comprehensible, and I incline to the view that 1272 represents a restoration of the earlier building, as 1306 and 1433 (which some compilers gave as the foundations of Ennis and Quin) in the monastic annals, certainly represent additions and repairs. Nicholas Sandford was its Prior in

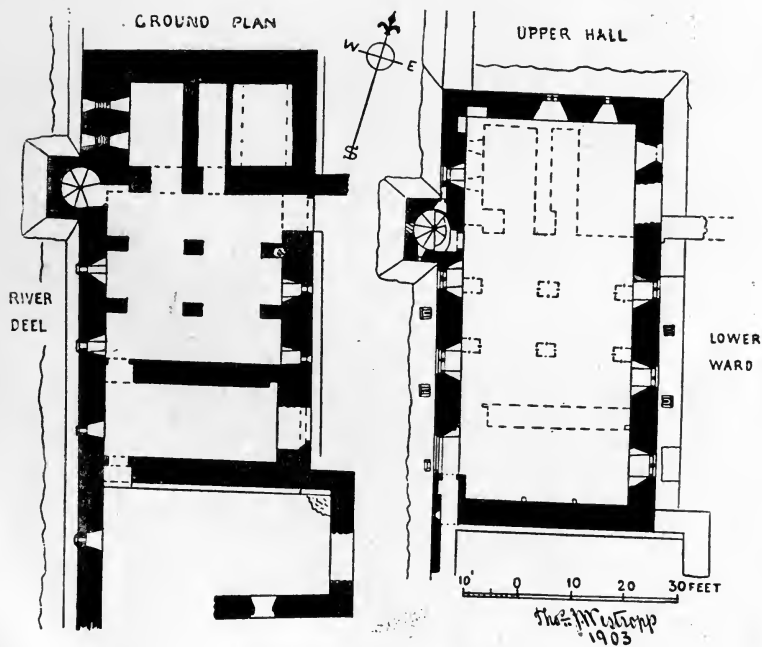


BELFRY, ASKEATON CHURCH.

1299; a later Prior, named Peter, with three monks, got into trouble for taking goods from the Augustinians in 1319. This was probably not theft, as some state, but one of the frequent cases of ill-defined rights and trespass which abound in the legal records of that generation, where, for instance, the De Clahulls "steal" a whale, or the Bishop of Ardfert a gallows and pillory. The Prior, however, was actually robbed of 100 shillings by his own monks in that year. The property of "Domus Beati Jacobi de Adare" was assessed for tithe as worth 40s. in 1291 in the Papal Taxation of Peyton, and is called "Monaster Bean" (the White Monastery) by Peyton.



ASKEATON, ST MARY'S CHURCH



ASKEATON CASTLE—THE HALL

The Augustinian Monastery had been established near the bridge, between the Trinitarian House and the castle, before 1315, by John, Earl of Kildare; the "present" Earl Thomas confirmed and increased his father's grant in that year. Lastly the Crown, after prudent enquiry whether the burgages so granted affected its interests, not only confirmed them but added other portions, then held by Richard of Adare,¹ John Madok, and Robert le Blound (White), and William de Byrne, to the Black Abbey of the Augustin Hermits, on Aug. 13, 1317.

To conclude the foundation history of the monasteries, we must pass on to the year 1464, when the most beautiful of the houses was built by Thomas, Earl of Kildare, and Johanna, his wife, for the Order of the Friars Minor of St Francis. They commenced it in 1464; it was dedicated to St Michael on Nov. 14th, 1464, but only completed by Michaelmas, 1466, when the church, cloister, two sacristies, and the cemetery were consecrated. The founders died respectively in 1478 and 1486; the Countess Johanna was buried that year in the monastery, but no monument is extant. Margaret FitzGibbon, wife of Cornelius O Dea (probably chief of Cmel Fermaic, in Thomond, the district round Dysert O Dea, Co. Clare), built the great chapel of the Blessed Virgin in 1483. Next Cornelius O Sullivan erected the graceful bell tower, he died in 1492; John of Desmond and Margaret (wife of Thomas) Fitz Maurice, built the two beautiful lesser chapels; Donough, the O'Brien Ara, the dormitory, he died 1502; Rory, Donall and Sabina O Dea, the cloister; Marianus O Hickey, the Refectory, the fine north panels and stalls of the church. Thomas, Knight of the Glen, and his wife, Honora, the infirmary (probably the house to the west), and the wife of FitzGibbon the east end of the church. These entries were copied by Father Mooney from the original Register of the Friary in about 1608, when he also saw the plate and vestments, preserved by the Franciscans at Cork. They are of great value from dating not only the present building but also similar features in other monasteries whose records are entirely lost, and the features can be studied with advantage here by students of Irish Architecture.

The Hospital, or House of the Knights of St John, has left us no ruin, nor (though the "Spital Land" appears on the curious detailed map of the Abbey lands at Adare in the Down Survey, 1651-55), is its site known. The curious little chapel in the churchyard dates about 1460 to 1480, and is attributed to the Earls of Desmond, whose connection with Adare was very brief. Nearly a century later the visitations of Cornelius O Dea, Bishop of Limerick, whose beautiful crozier and mitre are still preserved in that city, allude to the parish church.

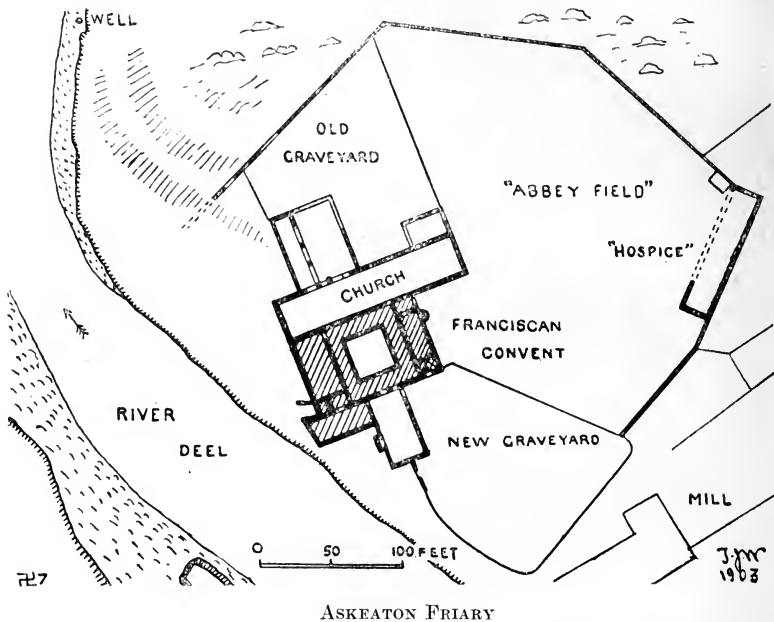
We will resume the history of the castle and town. Adare was governed by a Bailiff in 1310, and he was granted, by patent, the right to levy tolls for murage, or walling the town; no trace of the fortifications is, however, extant. We have a description of the castle in 1329-31 in an Inquisition, taken on the death of Richard Fitz Thomas, Earl of Kildare. The building consisted of a chapel

¹ It will be remembered that "Robin Adair" in the well known ballad was of Co. Limerick only, if some "commentators" err not.

and a chamber, each roofed with thatch or shingle, a tower, covered with planks, a kitchen, covered with slates, and a chamber near it, also slated. All was waste from the Irish war, and the surrounding lands were uncultivated. The Close Rolls of 1334 show that John Darcy, guardian of the lands of the said Richard, during the minority of Richard, Earl of Kildare, got a grant to repair the Castles of Kildare, Adare, Cromyth and Esgrene, with their houses and other edifices. As we noted, the White family had been settled at Adare in the previous century; again, in 1346, Thomas, son of Robert White, and Thomas fitz John were appointed keepers of the peace for the cantred of Adare and Cromyth for the year. In 1360 a tax of 2 shillings on each carucate of land in the cantred of Adare was levied for the Irish war. Adare must have suffered severely a second time, as King Richard II, in 1376, remitted the subsidies or tallages due from Adare till the town was rebuilt, as it had been burned and devastated by the Irish in the war. The lower bridge is said to have been built between 1390 and 1410; it was a strange, narrow structure, hardly wide enough for a carriage to pass over, and with recesses on the buttresses up stream for foot passengers to stand back on such occasions. The 15th century, which saw such activity in the church visitations and buildings, has left little record of Adare, the long residences next the Norman Hall in Desmond's Castle, and most of the Franciscan Friary date from it, and there was great prosperity and considerable peace in Co. Limerick during the period. The Creagh family of Adare enjoyed a large share of that prosperity. When "Silken Thomas" was executed in 1536, Adare was forfeited to the Crown; the lands surveyed in 1540 are Adare, Crome, Rachanan (Rathcannon, a conspicuous castle on a rocky knoll near Bruree), and Toberny. Another survey in 1559 made by Simon Barnwell gives much information, and he seems to have consulted the Franciscans' Register; he mentions "the old broken castle" and "the Abbey of Grey Fryers," as founded by Thomas, late Earl of Kildare, "who gave two challasses of sylver and bought a greate bell for 10 li; his Countes was buried under a stone in the quier in 1486." The monasteries were dissolved in 1539; the Trinitarians held 70 acres of land, the castle and mill of Robertstown (between Adare and Croom), a mill and salmon and eel weirs at Adare, with tithes on numerous lands. The Black Abbey (Austin Hermits) had other weirs. In 1541, Adare and Crome were granted to James, son of Sir John, Earl of Desmond; this seems to be the only connection of these nobles with the place in which popular names, like "Desmond's Castle," and "Desmond's chapel," have given them such unwarranted prominence. In 1566 the White Abbey (Trinitarian) was granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Warham St Leger, it was subsequently granted to John Zouche in 1583, to Sir James Gould, the Attorney-General, in 1585, and to Sir Henry Wallop; the Abbeys passed so often to different people that we gain little by recording their destiny any further. The Poor Abbey, though roofless, retained much of its glass even in 1608, when Mooney saw it.

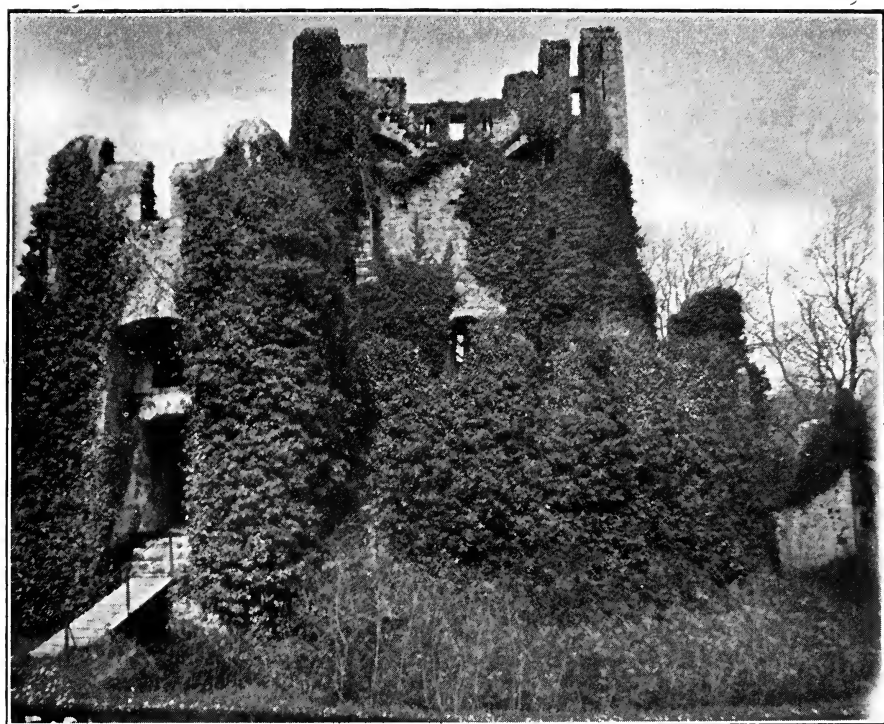
As to the castle, there is a statement in that most unreliable work, Lewis' *Topographical Dictionary*, that Adare Castle was besieged for 11 days in 1578, it was certainly garrisoned

in 1580, and the English cut down the woods near it on either bank of the river. It was evidently dismantled in 1599, for the Earl of Sussex garrisoned the Black Abbey near the bridge to secure his rear when he advanced to relieve the garrison at Askeaton under Sir Francis Berkeley, besieged by "the Sugean Earl" of Desmond, and the castle is not then named. In 1641 the Confederates held the castle, but it has no warlike record, nor was it held against the Cromwellians (Cromwell, be it remembered, did not come farther into the county than to reduce Kilbenny Castle on its southern border), though popular belief has invented a siege and destruction by "Cromwell"; however, his

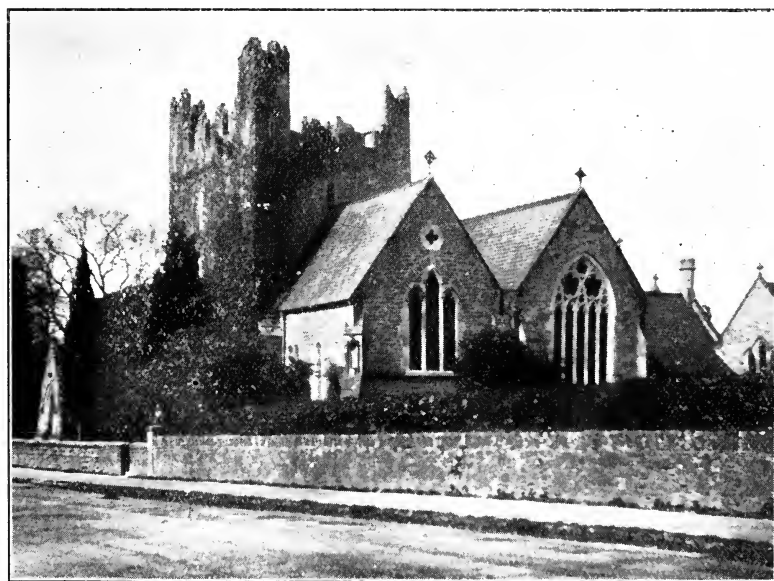


Government dismantled it in 1657. Under the Act of Settlement, in 1667, Sir Edward Ormsby was confirmed in part of the Commons of Adare, the Black, White, and Poor Abbeys, the Spittle land and the burgess lands of Stritch, Lee, Creagh, Lisaght and others.

Adare continued in possession of the Earls of Kildare till one of them, in 1683, granted the manor to Thady Quin for 1,000 years, with the mills and the long established fair. The grant includes the salmon weirs of Mundellihy, not far below the bridge, the Black Abbey and its gardens, William Stretché's burgess lands, a moiety of the White Abbey and the Poor Abbey (Franciscan) with its salmon and eel weir. The Earl gave a grant of all these in fee-simple in 1721. This Thady Quin was a member of an old family at Kilmallock, claiming relationship with John Quin, or Coyne, Bishop of Limerick, about 1530. Whether they were more remotely descended from the O Quins of Inchiquin, Co. Clare, has yet to be



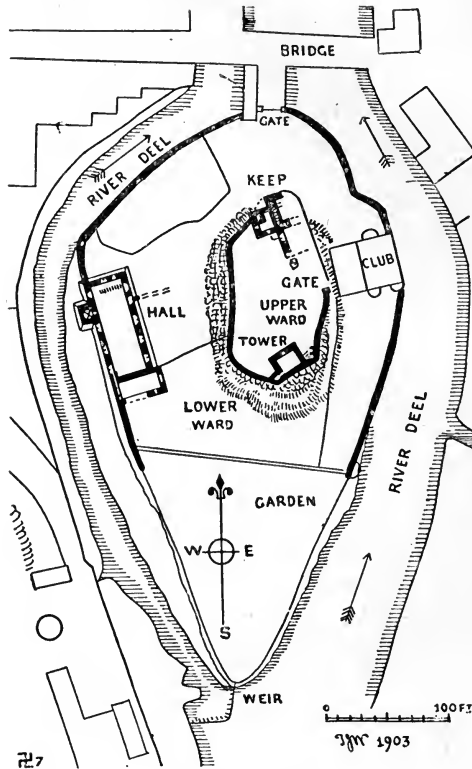
ADARE CASTLE



TRINITARIAN PRIORY, ADARE

proved. Thady's great grandson, Valentine Richard Quin, was created a Baronet in 1781, and Baron of Adare in July, 1800; he was further advanced to be Viscount Mount Earl in 1816, Earl of Dunraven and Mount Earl and Viscount Adare in 1861, and lastly Baron of Kenry in the peerage of the United Kingdom.

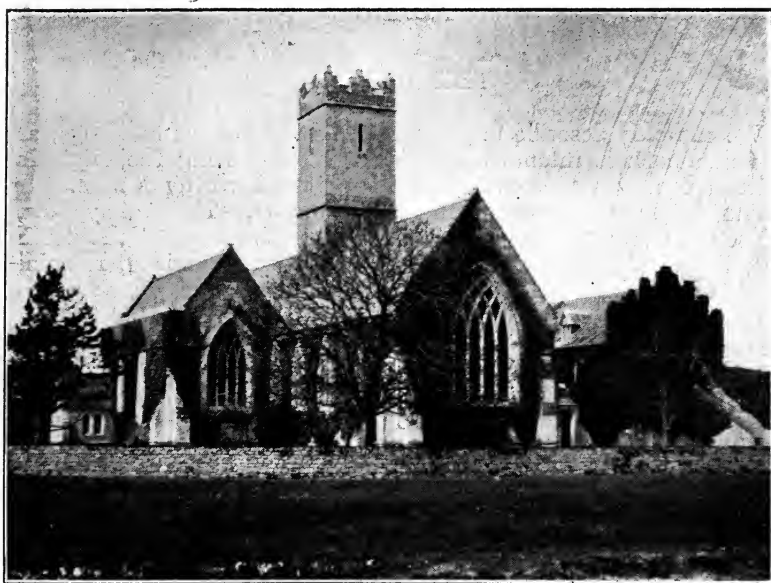
The family have been most munificent, whether as improving the condition of their tenantry, or the buildings of their beautiful demesne; they repaired the Black Abbey for the Established Church in 1807, and its refectory as a school in 1814, and the



ASKEATON CASTLE

White Abbey as the Roman Catholic Church in 1811. They greatly improved the village; the handsome fountain commemorates the help given by the villagers in extinguishing a fire at the Manor House. The present fine residence was commenced 1832, and only completed after 1850; it embodies the walls of an old tower, attributed to Thady Quin.

Antiquaries will not need to be reminded of the invaluable work done for Irish Archaeology by Edwin, Earl of Dunraven, father of the present peer; his *Notes on Irish Architecture* was published after his death. He and his mother compiled the *Memorials of Adare*, to which all subsequent writers on the place must turn, and one of the most complete studies of its period on Irish mediaeval Architecture.



AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY, ADARE



CLOISTER, AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY, ADARE

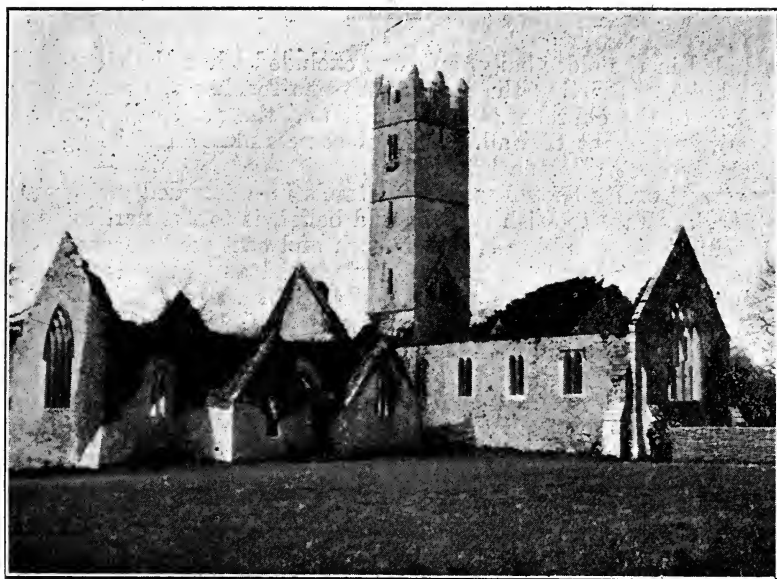
THE RUINS.

We can only describe in general terms the various buildings, as this handbook is intended for visitors who, having the originals before them, only need to be told what is most worthy of note.

THE "WHITE" OR TRINITARIAN MONASTERY.—The stately, low, old tower and the south wall of the older church, with the north wall of the chancel, and some portions of the domicile, remain, also the curious low circular turret at the west side, which is the *Columbarium*, or pigeon-house, of the building. Other *Columbaria* remain at the Black Abbey and at Old Abbey in the west of the county. The corbels of the arches under the central tower should be noted. The rest of the building has been greatly modernized, and, unfortunately, the original east end, with its triple light window, has been replaced. The church stands in the middle of the pretty little village, and is now the Roman Catholic church.

THE "BLACK" OR AUGUSTINIAN MONASTERY.—This, now the Protestant parish church, has been less altered than the last, but (again unfortunately), the three plain Gothic arches of the south aisle were destroyed and two new ones (with a Norman capital!) replace them; the picturesque stepped battlements of the east gable were also removed, with a doubtful taste. The tower is an after thought, and of rather displeasing proportion; the church has many features of interest, chiefly sedilia; the windows, with one exception, are of plain, interlacing tracery, the west window of the aisle is more ornate. The cornice along the south side, with its quaint crowned lions and other ornaments, is curious and pleasing. The beautiful little cloister to the north of the church has on each side three recesses, under each of which are three cinquefoil arches. Along the south walk, in the spandrels of the arches, are carved shields with Geraldine arms. There are no mediaeval tombs in the church or cloister; the burial place of the Earls of Dunraven is to the west of the latter. There are several rude vaults under the school-room, its stepped gable will show the former appearance of that in the church. There is a square pigeon tower, an archway with the Kildare and Desmond arms, and traces of other buildings on the bank of the Maigue.

DESMOND'S CASTLE.—The remains consist of a large square keep, with slightly projecting turrets at each angle; only the north side is entire, but the lower vaults are intact. It stands (as we noted) in a ring fort of normal size, and similar to dozens of earth works in the surrounding district. The edge is fortified by a strong, battlemented rampart, with semicircular bastions, and an imposing gate to the south, with slides for a drawbridge. Looping into this is the rampart of the outer ward; it has gates to each side, the southern between a semicircular tower and the water tower with its garderobe over the river. When one passes the massive arch, the hall, with a Norman window, is to the right, various rooms with double lights, cinquefoil-headed, and the kitchen and bakehouse of the castle lie along the river. The east gate leads to an enclosed, but unwallled, space within the outer fosse. This was evidently



FRANCISCAN FRIARY, ADARE, FROM SOUTH-EAST



FRANCISCAN FRIARY FROM SOUTH

included in the older baily, and was excluded when the stone wall was built. Skirting the inner fosse one reaches the north gate leading to the churches. Between it and the parish church is a massive fragment of wall. It is of some unknown building but evidently once of some importance.

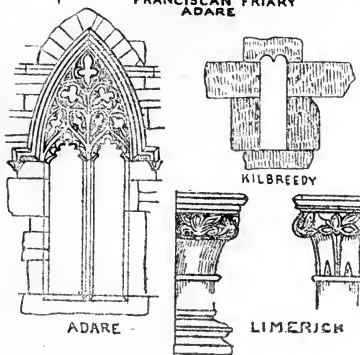
CHURCH OF ST NICHOLAS.—This stands in a crowded graveyard, which, contrary to Irish feelings and belief, is to the north of the church. The round-headed choir arch and east window are early Irish, the rest has been greatly modernized and patched; all its features are defaced save a little double belfry. To the north is a neat little chapel with trefoil lancets called the Desmond's chapel. It had a gallery in the west end, the base is unusual in being boldly battered or sloped.

THE "POOR" OR FRANCISCAN FRIARY.—The most beautiful and (in some ways) the most interesting building of Adare lies in a fair meadow, near the old bridge and the Manor, with beautiful views of the river and castle, and (till the trees grew up, and even till 1875), of the Augustinian Monastery. It affords an unusually complete idea of a monastery with its surrounding buildings and closes. The plan is intact, though the outer walls of the northern buildings are nearly levelled. Approaching by the ancient bridge, near the Manor, one first sees the "Kilmallock Gate," with the Geraldine shield above it. There was evidently a fairly large enclosed space to the south of the church, a second, and smaller, gateway remains near the transept. A fine old yew tree grows near the S.W. angle of the nave, and (as we shall see), another occupies the garth of the cloister, and others grow outside the ruin. The church consists of a nave and choir, divided by the plain arches of the pretty bell tower. To the south is a transept, with a side aisle to the west and two beautiful little eastern chapels, which an old man, Mortough MacMahon, in 1875, told me were called the chapel of the Virgin and the chapel of St Joseph, but from the Register it is probable that the main aisle was the actual Lady Chapel. The slab of the altar, with 5 incised crosses, lies in one, and there are some finely cut finials with tufted oak leaves and other designs on the sedilia. The nave had a coved roof, the choir a segmental one. Some consecration crosses marked on the plaster when fresh have been noted near the west end. The west window has three lights, the east and south have graceful simple tracery of interlacing shafts. The beautiful sedilia and stoups in the choir are of unusually good execution; some of them have traces of the original painting; chequers of blue and dull red and green, bands of colour and some traces of robed figures. The reredos was probably of wood. The place was crowded with burials when Lord Dunraven restored it, but only a few late tombstones are visible. The cloister lies to the north; it has, like the rest of the building (save one passage) no vaulting. The north, east and south arcades are of plain chamfered arches, the west, of more ornate ones, with bases, capitals and clustered shafts. In the west wall is a slab with a figure of a saint or monk, styled "St Brigid," in 1875. The south walk has a room above it absurdly called "the Abbot's room" in 1875, but evidently for bell-ringers, as the sloped way for the bell-ropes

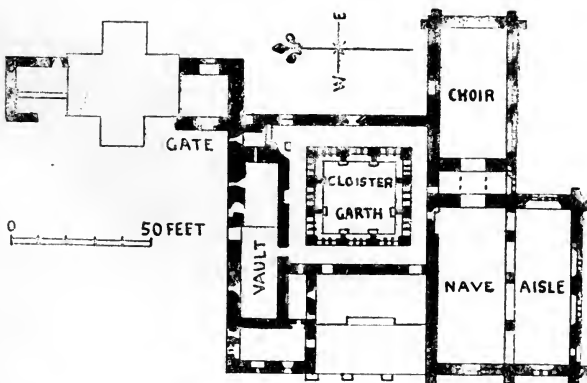
leads from it to the tower. The only other rooms calling for more than passing notice are the west room with fine late fire-places, one with carved animals and a rose. Outside is a detached building



FRANCISCAN FRIARY
ADARE



ADARE

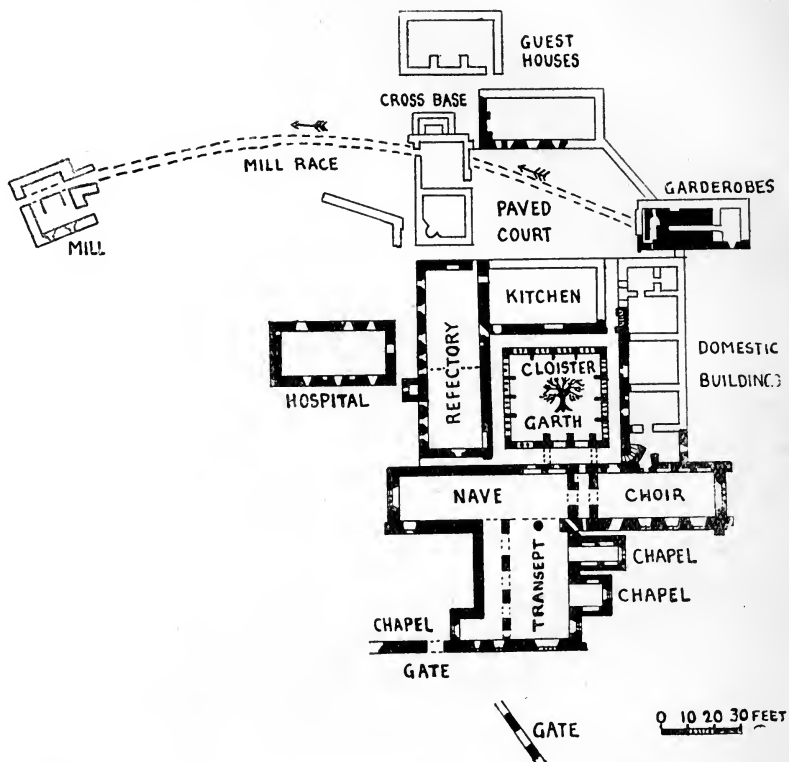


AUGUSTINIAN CONVENT, ADARE

(probably the infirmary) to the west, kitchen, the steps of a cross, and mill and garderobes and other offices, with the mill-race running beneath them. Mr. George Hewson believed that the remains of

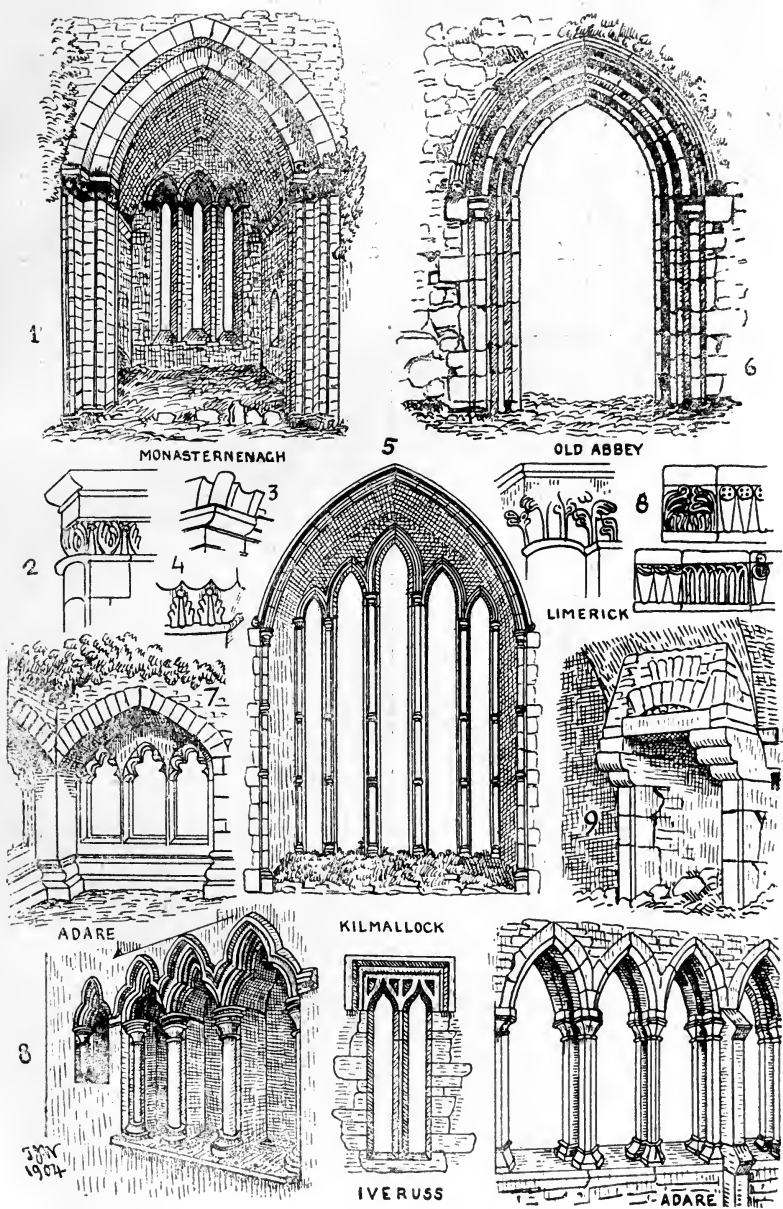
an older building are visible, embedded in the later work, and suggests that it is the House of St James; whether he was right as to the first statement architects may decide, but the House of St James was the Trinitarian Monastery.

In an antiquarian guide it is hardly in place to describe the Manor, save to note a group of Ogham inscribed pillars from Kerry in the garden. The tin chalice and paten (probably from a priest's grave)



FRANCISCAN FRIARY, ADARE

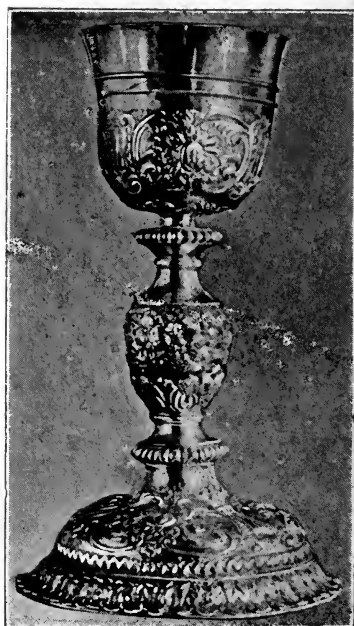
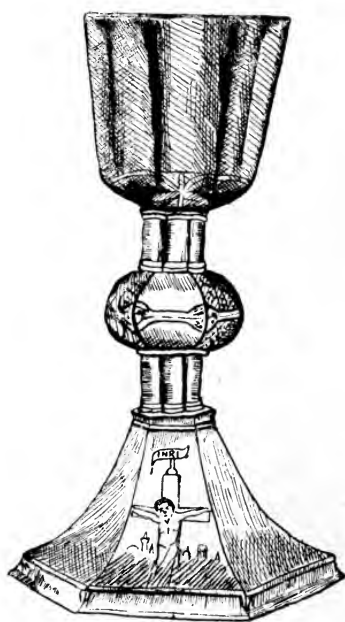
found in the Franciscan Friary, the weapons and other objects found in the inner fort of Desmond's Castle, a carved tombstone from Iniscealtra, Lough Derg, with the name *Chunn*, claimed (without a reason), as the tomb of an O Quin, and other archaeological remains are in the little museum, and there are some fine specimens of the great Irish Deer, "Elk," so called. Perhaps the most curious architectural feature is the open work balustrade forming the text, "Except the Lord build the house their labour is but lost that build it," on the south side of the Manor.



THE OGHAM STONES AT ADARE.

A small collection of Ogham stones were brought together by the late Lord Dunraven, and they are to be seen grouped in the grounds. The following is a brief description of them.

MANGERTON.—A stone 6 feet 9 inches in length, now broken in two, found somewhere on the slope of Mangerton Mountain. There is a wedge-shaped fragment lost at the point of fracture, which has carried away part of the writing; and another flake is lost from the top of the inscribed angle. The letters remaining



KILMALLOCK AND ADARE CHALICES

read ONEGGN; possibly this was originally a name such as BENEGGNI. There is a small cup or hollow on the stone near the base, and some people have cut the initials DC FC on the B-side of the stone.

ROCKFIELD.—Four stones were found in a rath-cave at Rockfield, Co. Kerry, and utilised in building a cottage. Three of them were afterwards taken to Adare; the remaining one, a fragment alleged to bear the unintelligible letters VNGULUM, is lost. The three Adare stones are as follows:—

1. A fine tall pillar-stone inscribed on two angles. The right-



ASKEATON CASTLE, WEST



THE CLOISTER, ASKEATON FRIARY

staircase turret, with five stories to the north. Mr. George Hewson rightly points out that it was twice enlarged.

The church is called *Templenakilla*, and is a small pre-Norman building of large uncemented masonry. The round-headed east window is of limestone, the south lights plain oblong slits. The west door has inclined jambs and a massive sandstone lintel. Lewis says that the shafts of two very ancient crosses were near it. They have not been recently noted, but the place is greatly ivied and overgrown.

GARRAUNBOY.—"The yellow garden," or "thicket," a castle of the Wall, or Faltagh, family, from whom it was confiscated after the Desmond Rebellion, in 1583. It was granted to Oliver Stephenson, from whose descendants it was again confiscated in 1651. It is a bold tower, though small, with four floors under a stone vault. It is of the late 15th century type, with ogee lights, so common in Counties Limerick and Clare. The end wing has the usual spiral stairs and five stories, the outer half is broken down. The tower stands in a bawn with circular turrets at the corners.

CAPPAGH KILMACLUANA.—Kyllmacuana church is first named in 1201; it was wasted by the war of 1302, which destroyed all the country manors through southern Connello and up to the Castles of Shanid, Askeaton and Adare, and "burned with fire the houses of God in the land" "to the number of two and twenty." Cappagh Kilmacuana appears in the 1336 rental, and was granted in 1541 by Thomas fitz Philip fitz John, the Knight of the Valley (Glin), to the Friars of Askeaton. The church is a plain small Gothic building, now lost in ivy. The castle was confiscated from the Brownes in 1583, blockaded by the Confederate Catholics, and surrendered to them in 1642. "Cappagh, with a great bawn, a ruined castle and a quarry," belonged to Nicholas Dowdall in 1655.

Cappagh Castle is a strikingly picturesque ruin, especially when seen from the railway, whence its lofty tower and broken vaults, with the boldly battlemented walls of the bawn, are very imposing. The tower is about 70 feet high, with five stories and the usual neat details of 1460 to 1480. The stairs and the southern half of the tower are levelled. The north-east bastion is circular. It stands on a bold ridge of crag. Tradition says that it belonged to the Fitzgeralds of Ballyglehane. One of these granted it to his younger brother, who (when the grantee's mischief-making wife had it reclaimed) blew it up rather than surrender it.

GORTEENAMROCK.—One of the best preserved stone forts in the county (where the majority have been nearly "improved" off the ground), lies not far to the north of Cappagh. The new maps having marked it for the first time, I asked the Rev. John Begley, P.P. of Cappagh, to visit it, and he kindly sent me the following notes:—It is a finely built ring-wall, measuring from 82 to 98 feet across the garth. The rampart is about 14 feet thick, and has a reach of terrace 18 feet long to the north-east, 3 feet below the summit of the wall, with possible traces of another lower down. The gateway is defaced, like most of the eastern side, and faces southward.

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AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY, ADARE, FROM SOUTH-WEST.

SECTION VI.

QUIN, DROMOLAND AND BUNRATTY

EARLY HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY OF THOMOND

Once the Shannon is crossed from the city of Limerick by either of the main bridges, we find ourselves in the territory of Tuadhnmhumha or North Munster, now the county of Clare. The original North Munster, however, when it first emerges into the light of history, comprised no part of that county, and was situated altogether south of the Shannon.

According to Keating, the original Munster consisted of two parts, viz., West Munster or the province of Curoi mac Daire, and East Munster, the province of Eochaidh Abhradhruadh, the dividing line between them running north and south from Luimneach (Limerick) to Bealach Chonglais, near the city of Cork. The tribe called Darini were the dominant race in East Munster, which extended eastwards to Cumar na dtí nuiisce (near Waterford); while in West Munster, between the dividing line and the Atlantic, the people named Deirgthine held sway and were the chief progenitors of the several clans known in later times as the descendants of Oilíoll Olum, son of Mogh Nuadhat. Sometimes, however, Munster is said to have been divided into North Munster, the province of Tighearnach Teidhbhannach, and South Munster, the kingdom of Curoi. It really meant much the same, for the dividing line ran from north-west to south-east. At any rate, Dun gClaire, near Duntrileague, and Dun eochair Mhaighe, on the Maigue, were the chief royal seats in Curoi's half.

The Deirgthine were destined to play a great part in subsequent Irish history, but under other names, and seem to have been identical with, or included the Clanna Deaghaidh, and to have ultimately absorbed the Erainn or Erna. The Clanna Deaghaidh must be further identified with the *Ui maic Deichead*, "a subsept of the *Ui Luchtai*, who were the main sept of the *Ciarraighe*." The Clanna Deaghaidh was a highly interesting tribe, and had wide ramifications, for the name in the early form, *Maqi Decceda* (genitive), appears with slight variations of spelling on five ogham stones in Ireland, and in two Latin inscriptions in Anglesea. The fame of the Clanna Deaghaidh as adepts in the cult of ogham was well known to early Irish writers, and a curious relic of this has reached us in the tale of the Death of Curoi—a champion who was said to have overthrown in fair fight even Cuchulainn himself. His treacherous spouse, Blanaid, in order

¹ McNeill's "Ogham Inscriptions," *Proc. R. I. A.*, p. 339.

to turn him over an easy prey to her lover, Cuchulainn, cunningly coaxed Curoi to send away in all directions his subjects, the Clanna Deaghaidh, to collect the standing stones of Ireland for the pretended purpose of building a new cathair.

How the royal race of Oilioll became the dominant power in Munster, and more than once attained the high kingship of



FRANCISCAN FRIARY, QUIN

Tara, is a matter of great historical interest. A battle was fought, we are told, in A.D. 186 (F.M.), at a place called Ceanfeabhrat, south of Kilmallock, by the sons of Oilioll Olum, King of the Deirghthine of West Munster, assisted by the Muscraidhe, the Corcobhaiscinn, and the Dál Riada, against the Darini of East Munster, commanded by their King, Lughaidh mac Con, and his druid, Dadera, and the Earna led by Neimhidh, in which Lughaidh and his allies were routed, and himself expelled the province. The

two Munsters, east and west, were there and then united, and the Deirgthine, or race of Oilioll, became firmly established henceforth in the kingship of all Munster.

It is impossible to tell with any certainty what exact racial affinities existed between the two chief divisions of the descendants of Oilioll, the Eoghanacht and Dal gCais, but it is probable they were closely allied in blood, if not actually identical. Both tribes were free and paid no tribute or service to any king but their own. The Dal gCais claimed an alternate right to the throne of Munster with the Eoghanacht, and even when their own king possessed only Tuadhmhumha or North Munster, "the northern side of the palace of Caisil, from the extreme corner to the door, belonged to them" by ancient right and usage.¹ Their claim to the kingship of Munster, however, was seldom realised, for it appears that only three Kings of Thomond before Brian Boroinhe, viz., Cormac Cas, Conall eachluaith, and Mathghamhain, son of Cinneide, ever attained to Caisil, although Lorcan son of Lachtna, is said by O Dubhagain to have reigned over Munster for a year and a half after the death of Cormac mac Cuileannain, A.D. 708. This statement, however, is not credited by Keating.²

It is also difficult to define with exactitude the territory south of the Shannon which the Dal gCais occupied when first they became a separate state. That portion of the Co. Limerick east of Ui Chonaill Gabhra and Ui Chairbri Aebhdha, and the adjoining part of Co. Tipperary, that is to say, the ancient district of Cliu Mail mhic Ugaine, extending, it is said, "from Luchair to Caisil,"³ seems to have been the cradle of the race. Dun tri liag, "fort of three pillar stones," three miles north of Galbally, barony of Coshlea, is said to have been erected by Cormac Cas, and tradition has it that the eponymous ancestor of the Dal gCais lies buried under these pillar stones.

Taking the sagas and mediæval pedigrees of the Munster clans as our guide, which express the tribal ethnology of a very remote period,—distorted no doubt and blurred by the ages, it is probable that the race of Oilioll Olum evolved from out the welter of so-called "pre-Milesian" or Ivernian peoples, who in prehistoric times occupied the south-west of Ireland. The pedigrees give the Earra, the Muscraide, the Corcabhaiscinn and Dál Riada, a common ancestor called Oilioll Earann. The Dairini had among their alleged progenitors, two Daires, a Deaghaidh and a Deirgthine; and we find in the genealogy of Oilioll Olum, a Deirgthine, a Dearg, and a Duach dallta Deaghaidh., in whose time, it is said the Earra were expelled from Ulster and settled in Munster. All this clearly shows a sense of unity of race, or at least a strong affinity between the several tribes, one of which, the Earinn, Earra, or Everni, had the honour of giving its name to the whole island, because it was the first to come in contact with classi-

¹ Keating, vol. iii, p. 191.

² Vol. iii, pp. 196-200. O'Donovan, drawing from some other source, in pedigree of the Dal gCais (Bat. of Magh Raith) gives Aenghus Tireach Lughaidh Meann, and Aedh Caomh, in addition to Lorcan and the others above mentioned, as Kings of all Munster.

³ *Arch. Hib.*, vol. ii, 70.



FRANCISCAN FRIARY, QUIN, FROM WEST



QUIN FRIARY AND DE CLARE'S CASTLE FROM SOUTH-EAST

cal Europe, Taking all things into consideration, the Deirgthine, or race of Oilioll, first took shape in West Munster, and its evolution was ever eastward towards Leinster, and northward towards Connacht.

Whatever views one may hold on this obscure subject, it is an undoubted historical fact that in or about A.D. 400, the Dál gCais, under their King, Lughaidh Meann, or Lughaidh Lamhdhearg (L. Redhand), crossed the Shannon and conquered the district now known as Thomond, which, from time immemorial was part of Connacht.

“ It was this Lughaidh Lamhdhearg
Who lopped off from the fair province of Connacht
From Carn Fhearadhaigh, it was a choice,
To Ath Luchad abounding in valour.”

Keating says that Lughaidh defeated the men of Connacht in “ seven battles,” and killed “ seven ” of their kings, “ though he had no host except mercenaries and attendants,” and made sword-land of Thomond, which was named after him “ The rough land of Lughaidh.” He is said to have conquered the whole county of Clare from Carn Fhearadhaigh, near Limerick, to Luchad, near Tubber, and from Ath Boroimhe, *i.e.*, the ford across the Shannon at Killaloe, to Leim an Chon, now Loop Head. He moreover colonised its eastern half with his own tribe, *viz.*, the baronies of Inchiquin, Upper and Lower Tulla, Lower Bunratty with the exception of Tradraidhe, and Upper Bunratty less a small district called Magh Adhair. On the rest of the peoples a heavy annual tribute was imposed—at least in theory—lasting in force to the time of Brian Boroimhe. It is probable that the Ui Cormaic and Tradraidhe, which were Eoghanacht tribes, paid no rent. We find them established in their respective districts as late as the reign of Feidhlimidh mac Crimthainn, King and Archbishop of Munster (ob., 847, A. U.), when an abbot of Ui Cormaic (now barony of Islands), appealed to that king, singing a poem accompanied with his eight-stringed lute, for help for his kinsmen the Ui Cormaic and Tradraidhe, who were “ from their friends far away,” against the Corcabhaiscinn, who had plundered his church.” These tribes of Eoghanacht stock, and the Corcabhaiscinn also probably helped Lughaid Meann in his conquest, and may have been the “ mercenaries ” alluded to by Keating. Guaire Aidhne, son of Colman, King of Connacht, seems to have tried to recover the last part of his kingdom, but always unsuccessful in his military undertakings, he was routed in the battle of Carn Fhearadhaigh, near Limerick, in A.D. 622.

Later on, at a date not known, the Tradraidhe were supplanted by the Ui Neill buidhe, a Dal gCais sept, and the Ui Cormaic were driven by the Ui Caisin across the Fergus into the barony of Islands, where as O Hehirs (Ua hAichir) they are still numerous. A further infiltration of Dal gCais families, O Briens and Mac Mahons, about which history says nothing, took place into districts

of the rent-paying tribes in the west of the county some time in the 13th century, principally as a result, we believe, of the Norman occupation of the Old Thomond in Limerick and Tipperary. The last mention of an O Donnell, Lord of Corcabhaiscinn, by the Four Masters is in 1158. In 1359 a Mac Mahon, heir apparent to the lordship of that district, was slain by the O Briens. The last O hAichir, Lord of Magh Adhair, was Donnchadh, whose death is recorded in 1099. His title was, we think, merely honorific, for it is probable the Ui Caisin had taken possession of Magh Adhair many years before. The last O Conor mentioned in the annals is Diarmaid, son of Rudraighe, elected Lord of the Corca Modhruadh, in 1482. The last O Lochlainn, Lord of Corcomodruadh, is Irial, who was slain in 1396. In the 13th century, O Briens were apparently a long time settled in parts of Corcamodruadh and Ui Breacain, and Mac Mahons in Corcabhaiscinn.

THE FRANCISCAN MONASTERY OF QUIN.

The monastery of Cuinche, *anglice* Quin (arbutus land), is dedicated to St Francis of Assisi, and stands in the parish of the same name, beside a small rivulet called the Rine, and in the ancient district of Ui Caisin, the tribeland of the Siol Aodha or Mac Namaras. The first thing that strikes the visitor is the wonderful state of preservation of the various buildings. This is entirely due to the fine quality of the stone, combined with excellent mason work. Another thing that may surprise him is the obvious fact that the monastery was built on the actual foundations of a great Norman castle, whose date, 1280, is known with certainty. The whole, it may be truly said, is a lasting monument to the piety and culture of the men who built it, and at the same time a unique memorial of their valour.

On January 26th, 1276, King Edward I. of England, out of his bounty, graciously granted to Sir Thomas de Clare, younger son of Richard, Earl of Gloucester, the whole of Thomond, to be held in tail. De Clare also came to terms with Brian ruadh, late King of Thomond, who consented to give him the district of Tradraidhe, even all the lands between Athsolum and Limerick, if he would but help him to regain his lost kingdom. De Clare, as we shall see, foully murdered Brian in 1277, whilst his guest in Bunratty, which he had built the same year.

The following year, 1278, the sons of the murdered king had their revenge. They defeated De Clare in a fierce battle at Quin, burned the church of St Finghin, in which some of his followers had taken refuge, and De Clare had enough to do to save himself from the carnage.

To guard his marches on the west, De Clare, in 1280, built a castle at Quin, which was completed in 10 months. It was a formidable stronghold, some 122 feet square, with walls of great thickness, and it was protected at three corners by projecting circular bastions. During the progress of the work Domhnall the younger brother of King Toirdhealbhach mór, came to Quin for the purpose of buying wine, which shows the existence at that particular time of unusually friendly relations between the Irish and De Clare.

Domhnall was treacherously wounded by one of the masons employed—by a soldier, according to the historian Mac Craith—who stabbed him in the back, but whom Domhnall slew before he was carried away by his followers mortally wounded.

De Clare made a great mistake when he chose Quin as a site for one of his castles, for it was part of Ui Caisin, the territory of the Macnamaras, and outside Tradraidhe proper. Its erection in this spot must have caused that sept great heart-burnings, and made them his deadly enemies. In 1285, five years after it was built, matters came to a head. A gentleman of the Irish, named O Liddy, was slain by the English garrison. When “black-browed” Cumheadha mór, son of Niall, Lord of Ui Caisin, heard of his friend’s death, he suddenly attacked the castle, and took it



T. DINELY'S VIEW OF QUIN FRIARY, 1680.

by assault. “Its ditch was crossed, earthworks carried, great gate battered in and hewn down, its strong walls were breached, its English stammerers captured; the place was cleared out of war like stores, and in the actual great castle a huge pile of stuff was given to the flames, that ran riot till the whole became a black-vaulted hideous cavern.”¹ Everything inside the building was destroyed in the conflagration, including De Clare’s title deeds, and no attempt to rebuild the castle was ever made.

Some years before this brilliant action Cumheadha’s brother, Sioda, son of Niall, “excellent with the spear,” was slain in “Quin battle of swords,” a surprise attack made in early morning on the camp of Donnchadh, son of Brian ruadh.

At the Synod of Raithbreasail, A.D. 1110, both Tradraidhe and Quin were included in the diocese of Limerick, of which the latter place, and Crossa, now Glennagross, parish of St Munchin, were the western limits. The change to Killaloe was probably due to the difficulty of its administration from Limerick—then a city of mixed Normans, Danes, and English—after Donnchadh Cair-

¹ *Cath Toir.*

breach, King of Thomond (1202-1242), removed his seat of government to Clonroad, near Ennis. However this may be, Quin is given as a parish of the diocese of Killaloe in the Papal Taxation of 1302.

The Four Masters tell us that the monastery of Quin was founded in 1402, by Sioda Cam (son of Mac-Con) Mac Connmara, Lord of Clanneuilein (*ob.* 1406) for friars of Saint Francis, and "that it should be a burial-place for himself and his sept." It would appear that previous to its erection the chiefs of Ui Caisin, alias Clanneuilein, were interred in the monastery of Ennis, founded about 1240, by Donnchadh Cairbreach. There are some architectural reasons, however, for thinking that the church of Quin Monastery, as distinguished from the rest of the building, is of earlier date than 1402. Wadding gives 1350 as the date of its foundation.¹ The Anglo-Norman settlers at Bunratty were not completely cleared out of Thomond until 1355, or thereabouts, and it is probable that it was not before this date the Franciscans were established at Quin, a branch probably of the Ennis community, with a church built for their use by Sioda's father, Mac Con, son of Cumheadha, or some earlier chief. The years which immediately followed the fall of Bunratty in 1354-5 were exceptionally peaceable and prosperous—the time may, in fact, be called the golden age of Thomond—conditions absolutely essential for the building of a great and expensive work like the monastery of Quin. The cloisters and residential part undoubtedly belong to the 1402 period. The transept and belfry are of later date. According to the author of *MS. 24 D. 10, R. I. A.* the south transept was built by Sioda Cam's grandson, Seán finn, chief of Clanneuilein, who died in 1467, and the belfry tower, which seems somewhat earlier, was probably the work of his father, Mac Con, son of Sioda, whose death took place in 1428. With these statements expert architectural opinion is in perfect agreement.

In 1433, Pope Eugenius IV, granted a licence to Mac Con Mac Connmara, Chief of Clanneuilein—"dilecto filio nobili viro Mac Con Mac Namara duci Clandcullyen"—for the establishment of Friars of the Strict Observance in Quin, which was the first convent in Ireland to adopt the strict rule of St Francis. The chief to whom the licence was addressed was possibly Mac Con, son of Sioda, who died in 1428, whom the Four Masters call "a charitable and truly hospitable man, who had suppressed robbery and theft, and established peace and tranquility in his territory," as they may not have known of his death in Rome, travelling being then slow and uncertain. If he was not the man, it must have been Mac Con Ceannmór, a chief who died in 1433.

Nothing is known of the fortunes of the monastery between 1433 and its suppression in the reign of Henry VIII. Its annals and records, if such existed, and it is practically certain that they did—have perished long ago, like those of many other similar Irish establishments. When the crash came the Quin Friars lost all their worldly possessions, the only assets remaining to them—little at any time—being the unchanging love and veneration of the

people, which never failed, as strong to-day as ever in their new home at Inis an Laoi.

Henry dissolved the monastery in 1541, and one of the conditions of the submission of Murchadh, afterwards first Earl of Thomond, was, his getting "certaine Abbeyes lately suppressyd," to which the astute King willingly complied, but, strangely enough, speaks of them as "to be suppressed by our commission and auctoritie, as reason is."¹ In 1547 the monastery was granted to Conor O'Brien, Lord Ibrickan, afterwards 3rd Earl of Thomond, probably for only a year, for in 1548 it was leased for 21 years to Teig and Turlough O'Brien, of Dough. The property then consisted of—"One acre, in which are one great church, now ruinous, covered with slate, and a steeple greatly decayed, a churchyard and cloister, one great hall, four chambers, two cellars, a ruinous dortor [dormitory], with an orchard and other edifices, also a water-mill, ruinous and prostrate, and ten cottages in Quin village." The townland of Keevagh, or part of it, a short distance from the monastery, at one time belonged to it.² On 7th October, 1577, Queen Elizabeth, among other church property, granted "the territories of Ince and Cohenny" to Conor, 3rd Earl of Thomond, at a rent to be fixed on survey.³ A new grant of the monastery and its appurtenances, by letters patent, was given on December 14, 1583, to Sir Turlough O'Brien, son of Domhnall mór, of Dough.⁴ It is probable that the friars did not regard these grants as altogether an unmixed evil, but rather looked on the various grantees, who were of their own faith, as useful buffers between themselves and Tudor intolerance and rapacity.

Sir John Perrot, a reputed son of Henry VIII.—arrived in Ireland as Lord Justice on June 21st, 1584, and started on July 25th to make a tour of the provinces. He first passed through Athlone to Galway, and then with his retinue set out for Limerick, resting the first night at Kilmacduagh, and the next at Quin, where he received the leading gentry of Clare. While at Quin, the sheriff, one Cruise, brought before him Donnchadh beag, son of Tadhg, son of Donnchadh O'Brien, whom he had in custody charged with some serious crimes. This was Donnchadh of Dromfionnglaise, a sub-denomination of Cragmoher, near Corofin.⁵ His grandfather, Donnchadh, second son of Toirdhealbhadh donn, was Tanist to his brother, Conchobhar (ob. 1539), but died before him in 1531, and was buried in Dun na gall. The next brother, Murchadh, then became Tanist, and after Conchobhar's death, was King of Thomond for three years, until he submitted to Henry VIII. in 1542, accepting the titles of Earl of Thomond for life, and Baron of Inchiquin in tail. Donnchadh beag was implicated in the recent Desmond rebellion, and even if he had not done anything else, that

¹ State Papers quoted, *Hist. Mem. of the OBriens*, p. 517. It is probable Murchadh knew little of the contents of the letter written in his name, as Irish and Latin were the only languages familiar to him.

² *Inquis.*, 24 April, 4th year of James I. (1607).

³ Letter of Elizabeth to Sydney, *Hist. Mem. of OBriens*, p. 528.

⁴ *Hist. Mem. of the OBriens*, p. 213.

⁵ The castle of Drumfinglas, now in ruins, belonged in 1570 to Domhnall Mór O'Brien of Dough.



CLOISTER, FRANCISCAN FRIARY, QUIN



CLOISTER, QUIN FRIARY

was enough for Perrot to condemn him, but it seems he had. In or about this time the English had put a garrison in the monastery, and the friars no doubt had to leave. According to Wadding,¹ the place was attacked by Donnchadh O Briain, who burned both the part occupied and the garrison in one conflagration. The *Four Masters* are very severe on Donnchadh, call him "the arch traitor and the leader (uachtaran) of the plunderers of Connacht," and see only justice in his cruel death, which he seems to have endured with "as much resolution in suffering as before he had manifested cruelty in his bloody actions."² Being sentenced by Perrot, the annalists thus describe the unfortunate man's execution, typical of the times in its unnecessary cruelty:—"His evil destiny awaited him, for he was hanged from a cart, and his bones were broken with the back of a large and heavy axe; and his body, mangled and half dead, was fixed, fastened with hard and tough hempen ropes, to the top of the belfry tower (Clogás) of Quin [church], under the talons of the birds and fowls of the air, that the sight of him in that state might serve as a warning and example to evil-doers." The peculiar nature of Donnchadh's offences may explain the unusual callousness of the *Four Masters*, and it cannot be denied that there was a certain poetic though barbarous justice in manner of his execution.

The Macnamaras and other families friendly to the Friars, it may be supposed repaired the damage done to the monastery by the attack of Donnchadh beag, for the walls, owing to their excellent quality, resisted the fire and were little injured.

In 1601, Sir George Carew, Knight, President of Munster, sent Captain George Flower, "Sergeant-Major" of the Province, with one thousand foot, into Connacht, "that he might doe some good service upon the Rebels." On his way thither he spent the night of the 20th of March at Quin, presumably within the monastery. A skirmish in the neighbourhood soon after occurred between Flower and the insurgents, in which many of the latter were slain; and Tadhg, son of Sir Toirdhealbhaich O Brian of Dough, who a short time before had joined the "rebels," received a wound of which he died within three days.³

Father Donall O Haigshy had charge of the Quin community in 1615. John Rider, Protestant Bishop of Killaloe, complains in his report to the Royal Commission of that year, that to divers abbeys and monasteries of his diocese "many ffrriars and priests doe ordinarily resort, and sometimes in the year great concourse of people publickely, as in the Abbey of Quin in ye County of Clare."⁴

Father Donall Mooney, writing in 1617, says that when he visited the monastery some short time before, the choir and south transept still had their roofs on, and that two or three of the Friars dwelt in the building,—“old, helpless men who scarcely retain a memory of the state of the convent before the suppression.” The

¹ *Annales Minorum*

² *Hist. of Perrot's Government.*

³ *Pacata Hibernia*, vol. i, p. 223.

⁴ Dwyer's *Killaloe*, pp. 140-3

younger Friars must have left the place, leaving the aged and decrepid behind them, who stupified by their misfortunes could not tear themselves away from their once happy home. The church plate had been given to Macnamara, of Cnapóg, for safe-keeping (*i.e.*, Seán finn, son of Tadhg, Lord of Western Clann-coilein, ob., Feb. 24, 1602, who if living would not have wronged the Friars), but his widow (Aine, daughter of Toirdhealbhach mac Ui Bhriain Ara, sister of Muirheartach, Protestant Bishop of Killaloe), denied all knowledge of it when questioned on the matter by Father Mooney.

In 1626, Father Teig Mac Gorman was appointed Guardian of



DORMITORY, FRANCISCAN FRIARY, QUIN

Quin by direction of Father Francis Mathew, Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Ireland. The Friars were again forced to leave, it is said, in 1637, but by the next year they had again returned, and at a Chapter held at Quin on 15th August, 1638, under the presidency of the Rev. Bernard Connus, Father Barnewall, Professor of Theology at Louvain, being Reader, the Rev. Joseph Everard was elected Provincial.

During the next few years, the Friars enjoyed comparative peace, and things improved so much that in 1641, the year which started the Great Rebellion, Eugene O Cahan (now Keane) opened a flourishing college in the monastery, which attracted eight hundred students to Quin. This happy state of affairs lasted for about ten years. The Confederate forces drawn from Munster and Leinster

in 1646 were mustered at Quin in that year, preparatory to their employment at the siege of Bunratty.

While the Confederates were in power in Thomond all went well with the community, until the occupation of the county by the victorious Cromwellians, in 1651. About this time, John O Molony, Catholic Bishop of Killaloe, seeing no hope of relief from the King's party, made an attempt to collect a force at Quin, in the hope of opposing the Parliamentarians. He and his undisciplined followers, however, were dispersed by Edward Wogan, and the Bishop himself was captured, but released soon after.

All the previous misfortunes of the Friars were as nothing to what fate had now in store for them. The college in the monastery was broken up, and the Principal, Eugene O Cahan, was shot by the Puritan soldiery. Father Rory Macnamara son of Donall Macnamara, and his wife, Mary Mac Mahon—one of the professors,—was likewise shot, and then beheaded. Donall Mac Clancy, a native of Tradry, one of the lay-brothers, was hanged, and another lay-brother, Derrnod mac Inerney, who had entered the Order in 1640, when Father Teig Mac Gorman was Guardian, was also put to death. The people to this day have a horror of the the very name of Cromwell, though they have no knowledge of the foregoing particulars, and neither should we, were it not for a work by Father Anthony Bruodin, printed at Prague, in 1669.¹

After the Restoration the Friars, or rather what was left of them, had another respite, and returned once more to the monastery. Father Murtough O Griffy was Guardian in 1670, and his name occurs in connection with the condemnation of certain refractory members of the Order in that year. Thomas Dyneley, an Englishman, visited Thomond in 1680, and in his *Journal* remarks:—"The ruins of Quin Abbey lately harboured some Friars of the Order of St Francis." This statement makes it probable that at this date the monastery and church were completely unroofed, and the brethren housed elsewhere, although his rough sketch shows the large ornamental crosses still on the gable tops. Divine Service, however, may have been sometimes held in the church when the opportunity offered. That the Friars still hung round the place is certain, for occasionally they were left legacies for Masses. Daniel O'Brien, 3rd Viscount Clare, in his will dated 20th October, 1690, among other bequests, leaves £20 each to the Friars of Quin and Limerick, £50 to the Friars of Ennis, and £6 a piece to the communities of Askeaton and Adare. In 1760, one solitary Friar haunted the cloister, and composed a moral poem for the then Lady O'Brien of Dromoland, who probably had befriended and protected him. What sad thoughts were his as he wandered alone through the roofless ruins, thinking of the ancient glories of the monastery. No wonder the subject of his poem was Death. As late as the early 19th century, members of the community resided in a cottage at Drim, a townland north-west of Quin, and only a short distance from their old home.

¹ *Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis.*



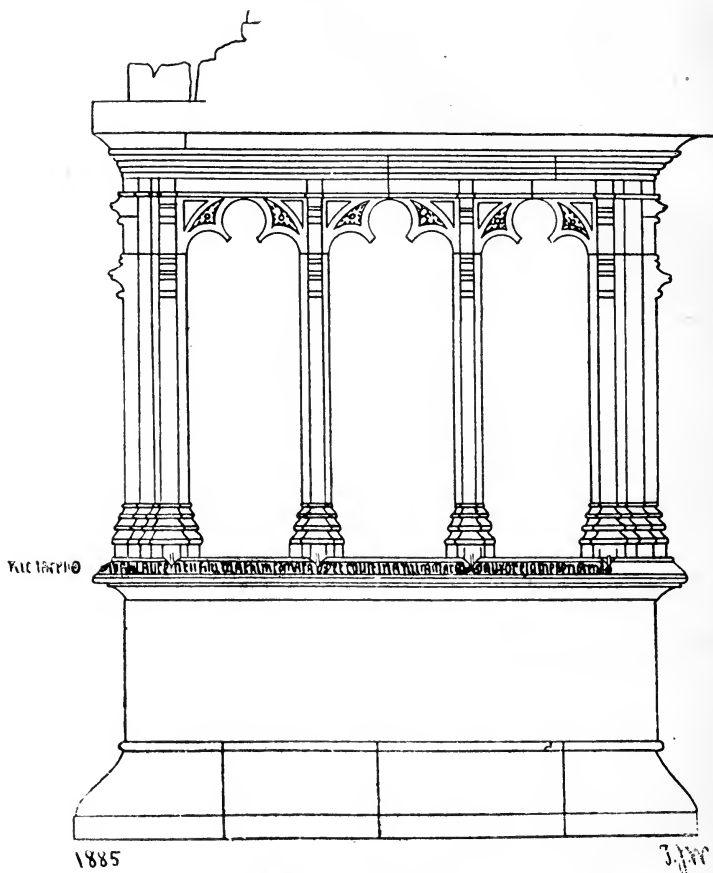
PAVED HALL, BUNRATTY CASTLE



CLOISTER WALK, QUIN FRIARY

north end leads over an arch to a garderobe in a small detached tower. The room to the north (58 feet by 28 feet), reached by a winding stair in the south west angle, seems to have been a dormitory, and the room on the west (50½ feet by 20 feet), was perhaps the hospital.

The tower, which is of the usual Franciscan type, square, comparatively slender, and broken by three string courses, is mounted

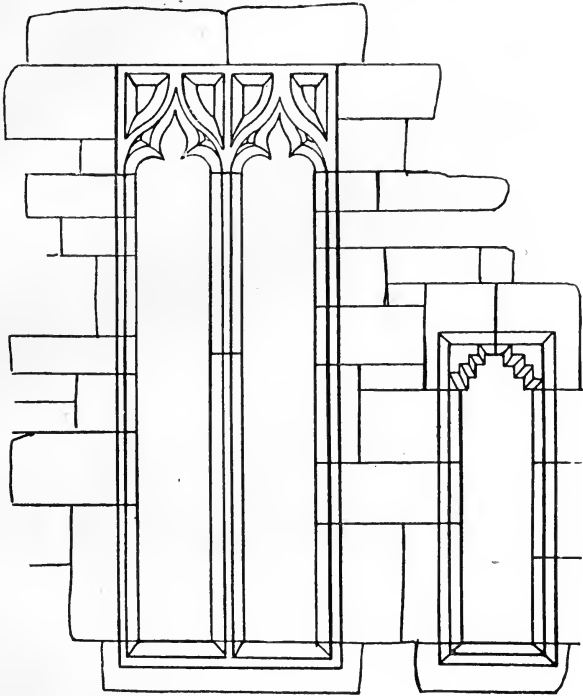


MACNAMARA TOMB

by a spiral stair in the north-east angle. From the summit a fine and extensive view is obtained of the ancient plain of Magh Adhair, in which is the prehistoric mound of Adhar, two miles to the north-east, on which the Kings of Thomond were inaugurated by Mac Conmara. The gabled castle of Danganbrack is quite near to the east. Ballymarkahan and Knapóg are not far away to the south-east. Distant Kimálta (Keeper) can be seen through a gap in Slieve Bernagh if the air is clear. The remains of the bastions of de Clare's Castle on south-east and north-east can be readily examined from the tower top, and if the sun is low and the

grass short, the foundations of many houses—the ancient town of Quin—are plainly visible in the field south-east of the monastery.

There are a few interesting inscribed tombs to members of the founder's sept to be seen in the church. Many must have formerly existed, and were destroyed; for it is difficult to imagine that a clann, wealthy and numerous, and whose chief men possessed the culture of their time, had not erected many tombs in this the chief church of the race, built by the founder, as the *Four Masters*



WINDOW OF EAST UPPER ROOM

state, with the express intention that it should be the burial place of his tribe.

In the north-east corner of the Choir—a section of the wall having been removed for its reception—is a fine canopied tomb, said to be of the late 15th century. On the levelled edge of the covering slab is the following Latin inscription in well-cut antique lettering:—

Hic jacent Oid fili^s Laurentii filii Mathi m̃ Cōmara et
covllina nī mic Cōmara uxor eis q̃ me fieri fecerūt.

There were neither Laurences nor Matthews among the Macnamaras of those days, so the inscription must be translated:—

Here lie Aedh, son of Lochlainn, son of Mathghamhain
mac Conmara and Coibhlin¹ nī mic Conmara his wife, who
H[both] caused here to be made.

¹ A diminutive of Cobhlaith or Cobhflaith, a woman's name once common.

The owners of this monument must have been people of importance, yet no man of note of this name and ancestry has up to the present been found among the records of the clann, at least in the time or suggested period of the tomb. If the pedigree which prefaces Mac Curtin's copy of the Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaich be correct, Mathghamhain dall was a younger brother of Sioda Cam, chief founder of Quin, in 1402. Assuming that the Mathghamhain of the inscription was Mathghamhain dall, then his grandson, Aedh, son of Lochlainn, must have erected this tomb, circa 1450, which is the true approximate date. Under the canopy is a late slab (18th century) with Macnamara crest and arms, which reads:—

This monument was
Erected by Mahan
Daul Mc Nemara and
Repaired by Captain
Teige Mc Nemara of
Ranna, A.D. 1714.

Captain Teige Macnamara of Rannagh, parish of Tulla, was the man for whom Andrew mac Curtin transcribed the Cathreim Thoirdhealbhaigh, or "Triumphs of Turlough." He was of the line of Lissofin, but his relatives having acquired Ayle, parish of Feakle, in the 18th century, previously the property of the Ballinahinch line, were, in modern times, known as the Macnamaras of Ayle. Rawdon Macnamara, of Dublin, one time President of the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland, was a member of this family. It is plain Captain Thady made a mistake in assuming that this monument was erected by Mathamhain dall mac Conmara, for the inscription, a much better authority, plainly says the builders were Aedh, son of Lochlanin and his good wife, Coibhlin.

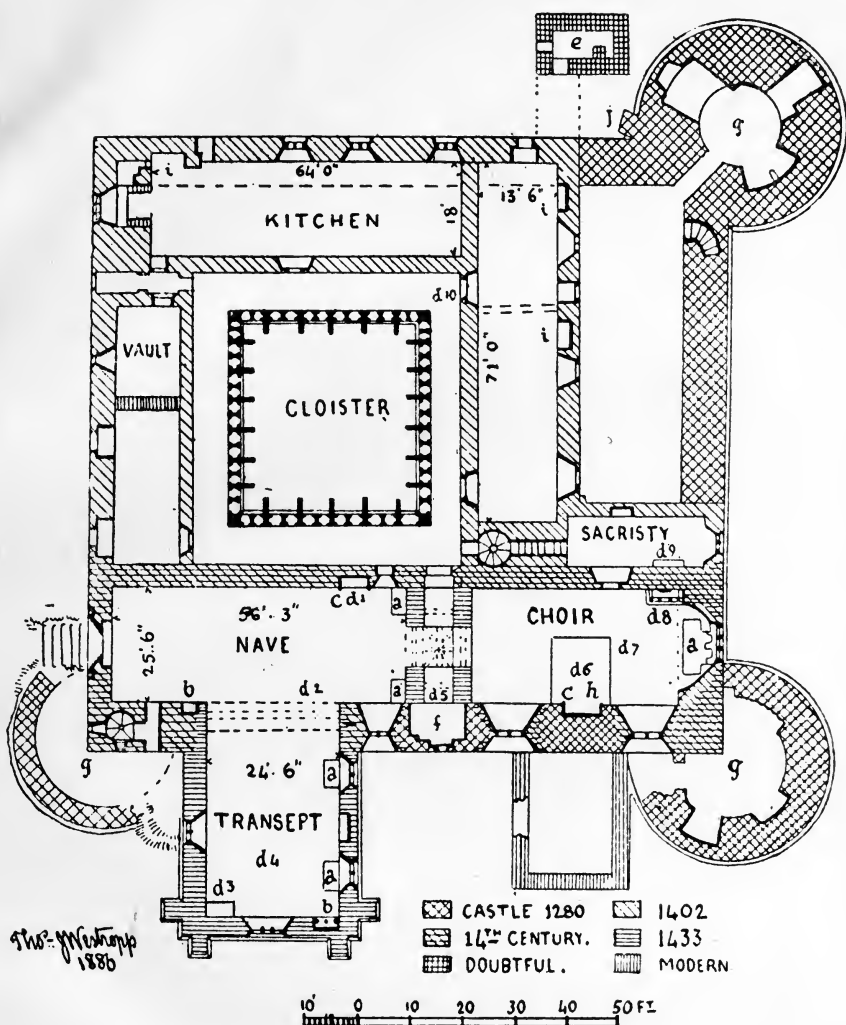
In the curious little chapel in the south wall, entered from under the belfry arches, which formed the porch of the Castle of Quin, are the fragments of what must have been a fine box or altar tomb, as is evident by the elaborate moulding on the edges of the slab. The writer got the inscribed pieces put together some years ago. The tomb seems to have been deliberately smashed at some time or another, probably by the Puritan soldiery when they garrisoned the county. The inscription, which runs round the edge in raised letters, reads:—

* Hic jacit Johannes Capit [an]us macnemar[a] qui mortuus
est Anno * [Dom]ini : 1601 : pro : aia : ora *
Anna filia m I [Brie]n Arra me fieri fe^t.

These fragments are all that is now left of the tomb of Seán, son of Tadhg (ob., 1571), son of Cumheada, son of Cumara, son of Seán (ob., 1467, A. L. Ce.), son of Maccon (ob., 1428), son of Sioda Cam (ob., 1406), the chief founder of the monastery. He attended the Parliament of 1585 in Dublin, and the true date of his death is February 24th, 1602,¹ as given by the *Four Masters*. His widow who erected the tomb, Aine, daughter of Toirdhealbhaich mac Uí Bhriain, of Ara, Co. Tipperary,² followed the old style of computing the legal year, which was not changed until 1752.

¹ 1601-2 O. S.

² *Carew MS.*, 599, B.M.



QUIN FRIARY—PLAN.

- a. Altars.
- b. Piscine.
- c. Sedilia.
- d. Monuments.

- e. Garderobe Tower.
- f. Gate of Castle.
- g. Bastions of Castle.

- h. Stucco Work.
- i. Fireplaces.
- j. Broken Arch.

MONUMENTS.

- 1. Macnamara, 1761.
- 2. Stone with Axe.
- 3. Macnamara, 1768.
- 4. Macnamara, c. 1750.
- 5. John Macnamara, 1601.

- 6. Priest's Vault.
- 7. Macnamara, 1722.
- 8. Canopied Tomb of Oid Macnamara, c. 1500.

- 9. Macnamara of Ranna.
- 10. John Hogan, the last Monk, 1820.

In the choir are the following tombs:—James Carrig and his wife, Margaret Macnemara, erected 1757, by their son James. Another, Francis Mc Namara, of “Durree,” to his brother James, who died March 9, 1833. On a flag broken to make room for Bishop Mc Mahon’s vault, and now covered with a layer of cement, is the following:—“[Here lies ye body of Michael] Mc Namara, of Ballymarkahan, who died December ye 22nd Ano. Do. 1722. May he rest in pace. Amen. Erected by his son, Michael, Ano. Dom., 1750.”

The owners could not find this tomb for many years. At last, in reply to an advertisement, one of the masons who built the Bishop’s tomb came forward, admitted it was he who broke off the end of it, and offered to show where it was. It was found where it ought to be, under about a foot of rubbish. The grave was not used by the owners for about 130 years, since when the burial place is in Coad, near Inchiquin. The father, the Michael who died in 1722, was Donough, who in his will (1707, administration to his son Michael, of Crevagh, 1711), desires his body to be buried in “St Fynnan’s Church in Quin.”

In the Sacristy, north of the choir:—“Here lyeth the body of Mary Creagh, otherwise Macnemara, wife of Andrew Creagh, of the city of Limerick, merchant, and eldest daughter of Daniel Macnemara of Ardelun, in the county of Clare, Esqr., and Mary Macnemara, otherwise O Callaghan, his wife, daughter and heiress of Thady O Callaghan, of Mountallon, in said county, Esqr., deceased, who died the 28th of June, 1756.”

Thady OCallaghan, of Mountallon, parish of Clonlea, formerly of Coolroe, Co. Cork, was, we believe, the son of Conor O Callaghan, an officer in Clifford’s regiment, transplanted to Clare in 1670. His wife was Mary MacCarthy (ob., 1721), widow of Donough O Callaghan (ob., 31 March, 1698, son of Donough, of Clonmeen, Co. Cork, son of Cahir O Callaghan), who was a transplanted papist, and whose father obtained large estates in Co. Clare. Thady O Callaghan’s daughter, Mary, married Daniel (ob., 1768), son of Finghin Macnamara, of Doon and Ardlooney (of the line of Sioda Cam, of Rosroe, ob., 1444), and was admitted to Grey’s Inn, London, 24 June, 1713.

In the Sacristy also, half buried in the masonry, is a tomb of the Macnamaras of Rannagh, but it cannot be deciphered in its present position. Under the belfry is a plain much-worn flag, which reads:—“Here lyeth the body of Daniel Mc Con[mara], 164—, This may possibly be the tomb of Donall son of Seán finn, who died in 1643; his wife was Lady Honora Burke, daughter of Rickard, 2nd Earl of Clanrickard. In a recess near the belfry is the tomb of Peter Mc Namara, who died in 1764, erected by his sons, Conner and Michael; and in an Ogee recess in the north wall of the nave is that of Edmond, grandson of Hugh Mc Nemara, of Co[rb]ally, 176—; also the tomb of Donough Macnamara, who died 1654.

In the family vault in the south transept are buried some of the Macnamaras of Moyriesk, who were descended from Donnchadh, son of Tadhg, who was a younger brother of Seán finn, of Knapógh

(ob., 1602). This Donnchadh died in 1584, and the *Four Masters* describe him as "a man of all the Clanncuiléin, the most dreaded by his enemies in the field of battle." Major John Macnamara, commonly called "Fireball," the noted duellist, about whose name many legends cluster, and who called his pistols "Bás gan 'Sagart," (death without priest), died at Coogane, in 1836, and was the last of the Moyriesk family.

The tomb of the Rev. John Hogan, last of the Friars of Quin, is in the north-east corner of the cloister. The inscription on it has a pathos of its own, which even the blunders of the stone-cutter can not spoil, and tells its melancholy tale of the sad condition to which this once flourishing community was in the end reduced. It reads:—"Here lies the body of the Rev. John Hogan of Drim, who departed this life Anno Domini 1820, aged 80 years, the last



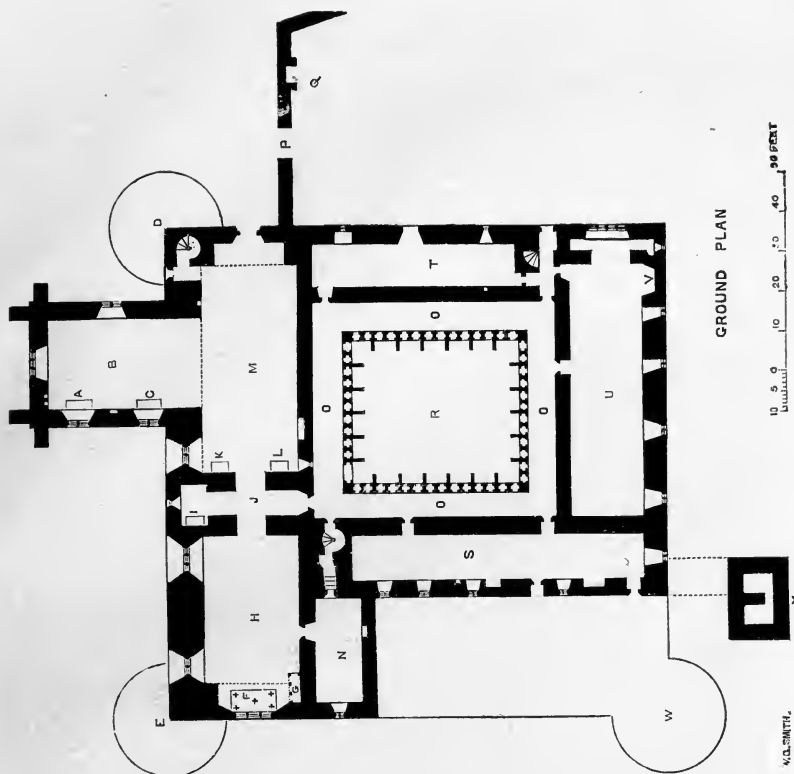
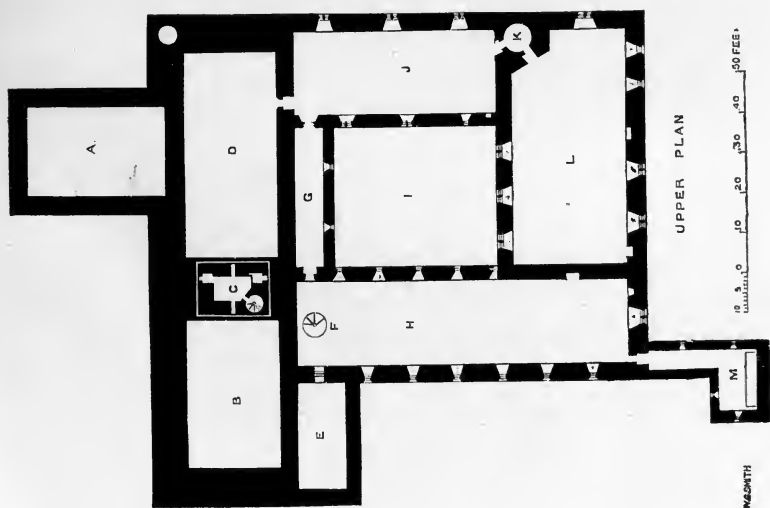
QUIN NORMAN CASTLE AND FRIARY FROM THE BELFRY.

of the Franciscan Friars who had their residents at Drim, the place of their refuge when driven from the Abbey of Quin. He was supported by the pious donations of the faithful, and served as an auxiliary to his neighbouring parish-priests in the vineyard of the Lord. He knew how to abound and how to suffer want as the Lord was pleased to send. He died in holy poverty, respected for his strictness in religious discipling, and venerated by all.

Qui seminat in lachrymis exultatione metet. Requiescat in pace. Amen."

CHURCH OF ST FINGHIN.

This, the parish church of Quin, dedicated to St Finghin, stands quite close to the monastery, west of the little stream which once turned the "busy mill" owned by the Friars. An earlier church



on this spot, of unknown design, was burned over the heads of Sir Thomas de Clare's followers in the fierce battle of Quin, 1278, when the sons of Brian ruadh avenged the murder of their father at Bunratty. It is probable that the present building is the work of De Clare, and was built soon after the erection of the Castle of Quin, 1280, and before its destruction, by Cumeadhá mór, in 1285.

It is of Gothic design, consisting of a nave only, 79 feet by 27 feet, and has a triple lancet east window, and the remains of a



ST FINGHIN'S CHURCH, QUIN

richly-moulded south window. The north wall has fallen many years ago. At the south-west angle is a small but graceful belfry, with faces on its corbels, which is believed to be later than the rest of the building. In Bishop Rider's report, Royal Visitation, 1615, curiously enough the description is "Church and Chauncell downe." Perhaps a chancel was cut off from the nave at that time by a wooden screen.

The neighbouring well is dedicated to St Inghen Bhaoith (daughter of Baoth), patron of Kilnaboy, near Corofin, an early Dál gCais saint.

BUNRATTY.¹

The townlands of Bunratty, east and west, in the ancient district of Tradraidhe, are so called, it is supposed, because they are lands lying at the *bun*, "end" or "estuary," of the *Raite*, which latter word means "passages" or "ways," a name given to the tidal and very tortuous reaches of the Owen O Garney ((Amhain UigCearnagh), a river which is itself called after the UigCearnaigh, a people who in former times inhabited the adjoining district through which it flows. The extremely erratic and winding course of this river can be well observed from the battlements of the castle, which is built close to its right bank, about an English mile from its junction with the Shannon. The low hill on which the castle stands was at one time an island, or nearly so, connected on the north with the mainland by only a narrow causeway; and it would again become an island at high tide if the protecting embankments were breached. The place was admirably adapted for the erection of a fortress, being naturally well protected by the surrounding marshes from sudden assault.

In A.D. 834, the Norsemen, always itching for loot, sailed up the Shannon, plundering on their way Corcabhaiscinn and Tradraidhe on the north bank, and the lands of the County Limerick on the other side of that river. The author of "The War of the Gaedhill with Gaill" says that the foreigners proposed to make Tradraidhe into "one garrison" from which to conquer all Thomond, and that to this end they "raised a fortifying bank all around Tradraidhe." If for the latter place we substitute Bunratty, the statement may be true, but not otherwise; for such a work was beyond their power, and even if partially accomplished would leave some traces behind, but none can be found. At any rate, Brian Boromhe, when he came to man's estate, gave them no respite, and in the end cleared out the barbarians.

On January 1, 1248, about 250 years after Brian had expelled the Norsemen, an Anglo-Norman named Robert de Muscegros received from King Henry III of England a fee-farm grant of the lands of Tradraidhe in Thomond, at a yearly rent of £30. On May 2, 1251, the King remitted to him two years' rent to enable him to fortify his Castle of Bunratty, and another which he had erected at Clarecastle. These were the first castles built in Thomond. That at Bunratty was a bretesse or wooden tower, erected on a mote, and protected with a palisade. The mote on which it stood is still to be seen a little to the north of the castle, with traces of its bailey, and it is reasonable to suppose the one at Clare Castle was similar. The points selected by De Muscegros for his castles being on the bank of a tidal river at both ends of his estate were well chosen, and secured him free access to Limerick, then an Anglo-Norse town. On June 21, 1252, the King further gave

¹ Bunratty is so full of history that all that can be done here is to note briefly the principal facts concerning it. A pretty full historical and architectural account of the place with authorities, will be found in the Journal of the North Munster Archaeological Society, vol. iii, pp. 220-327.

De Muscegros permission to draw 200 good oaks from the forest of Cratloe—always noted for its fine timber—to fortify his castles. Robert de Muscegros died in 1253-4, and his son John obtained his father's lands. It was during John's occupation, in 1270, that Brian ruadh, King of Thomond, destroyed the castle at Clare. The property, as we might expect, did not prove a very profitable investment, and so we find the castles and lands surrendered to the King by John de Muscegros' son, another Robert, in March 2, 1276.

Two years before this date, Sir Thomas de Clare, Knight, Governor of London, 1273, and younger son of Richard, Earl of Gloucester, had got licence to proceed to Ireland, where he landed on May 23, 1274, and soon after was appointed Chancellor. On January 26, 1276, the King granted the whole of Thomond to De Clare, quite regardless of the rights of anyone else, and on March 3, following, he made him a further grant in tail of the Castle of Bunratty, the cantred of Tradraidhe, and the theodun of Ui Cormaic (now barony of Islands), late the estate of De Muscegros, to be held in capite. The Castle of Clare evidently had ceased to exist.

Brian ruadh, who had been deposed a short time before from his Kingship by his nephew, Toirdhealbhach mór, now saw a chance of regaining his lost kingdom. He opened negotiations early in 1277—or more probably in the end of 1276—with De Clare, who was then in Cork. Brian met him in that city, and agreed, in return for his assistance, to acknowledge him as owner of all the lands lying between Athsoluis and Limerick. The pair swore eternal friendship to one another, "poured their blood into the same vessel," and in addition "exchanged mutual vows by the relics, bells, and croziers of Munster." They then returned to Limerick, and to render their bond inviolable—at least in the eyes of the Irishman—they "formed Christ-friendship" (gossipred), De Clare standing sponsor for a child of Brian's.

Soon afterwards, De Clare and the exiled King, with an army of English and Irish, suddenly invaded Thomond, and seized the royal fort of Clonroad during King Toirdhealbhach's absence in West Clare; but the latter and his men soon turned on them, and inflicted a severe defeat on the raiders at the battle of Magh-gressain, in which Patrick fitz Maurice, brother of Lady de Clare, was slain.

Sir Thomas de Clare, this year (1277), realising the uselessness of De Muscegros' bretteuse, built a new castle at Bunratty, described by Mac Craith as a fortress of "dressed stone, girt with thick outer walls, containing a roofed impregnable donjon, and having capacious lime-whited appurtenances." This was the first castle of stone built in Thomond.

Sometime in this year, while Brian ruadh was a guest in Bunratty, De Clare, at the instigation, it is said, of his wife, Juliana, daughter of Maurice fitz Maurice, who blamed Brian for the death of her brother, foully murdered the man to whom he was bound in friendship by every oath and every tie then considered the most sacred. He caused Brian to be dragged to death behind a stern steed, until death released him from his sufferings. The letter



BUNRATTY CASTLE FROM SOUTH



BUNRATTY CASTLE AND BRIDGE

of the Irish chiefs to Pope John XXII gives fuller details of the atrocious deed, and says that Brian was "dragged from the banquet without warning, drawn at the tails of horses; his head also being cut off, his body was gibbeted by the feet on a tall post."

In 1278, De Clare suffered a great defeat at Quin, as elsewhere described, and two years later, 1280, built the castle of that name to ward his territory on the west. He must have had a great force at command to enable him to accomplish such a work in presence of a hardy enemy, who during the same year attacked Bunratty, when the garrison was so hemmed in that the dead could not be buried, and an epidemic raged in consequence. In 1285, the castle of Quin fell to the victorious Cumeadhá mór, who, with King Toirdhealbhaich, also laid siege to Bunratty. They placed a boom across the River O Garney to prevent supplies coming from Limerick, and the garrison would probably have been starved out were it not for the Red Earl of Ulster, who persuaded the besiegers to withdraw, and a temporary peace was patched up.

At last, on August 29, 1287, Sir Thomas de Clare met his fate at a battle fought somewhere in Tradraidhe, between King Toirdhealbhaich mór and himself, in which he was defeated and slain, with several of his gentlemen. According to the post mortem inquisition taken after the death of Sir Thomas de Clare at Bunratty, on Sept. 18, 1287, the place was then a prosperous town of over 200 burgesses, holding 226 burgages.

During the minority of the sons of De Clare, Gilbert and Richard, Bunratty was held by the King. In 1289, £11 10s. 8d. was spent in making about 140 yards of a fosse round the castle, with a palisade, another fosse for the mill, and in enlarging the pool. £5 3s. 9d. was allowed for the "covering of the big tower" and a chamber near the River O Garney, the buying of new locks for the gate, the raising of a new tower beyond the gate, and repairing houses within the precincts of the castle. The place was besieged by the Irish in 1296, 1298, and 1299, with varying success, but was never actually taken in any of these years. On the custody, defence, victualling, and repairs of the castle for ten years 1289-1299, while in the hands of the King, at least £230 7s. 1½d. were spent.

In 1308, Gilbert, elder son of Sir Thomas de Clare, being then 24 years old, died without issue male, and Richard, the younger son now in his 22nd year, became heir to the estate. Richard got seisin sometime between September 15, 1309, and Michaelmas term, 1310. He was now Lord Richard de Clare, having been summoned to Parliament as a Baron by writ dated October 26, 1309.

The De Burgos and De Clares seem never to have been on friendly terms. On May 20, 1311, Sir William de Burgo, assisted by the men of Connacht and the English of Meath, defeated Lord Richard de Clare, now owner of the castle and all his father's lands, in a battle fought somewhere, it is supposed, on the hill north of the fortress; but De Burgo and some of his nobles who in the heat of pursuit got separated from the main body of their forces, were taken prisoners by De Clare, and lodged in Bunratty.



CHAPEL



CHAPEL. STUCCO WORK, BUNRATTY CASTLE (*circa* 1619). By Dr. G. J. Fogerty

In 1317 Lord Richard de Clare and his deadly enemy, King Muirheartach, attended Parliament in "Dublin's wall-and-ditch-protected city." In their absence the important battle of Corcomodruadh was fought, in which Diarmaid, the King's brother, and Maccon Mac Connara gave a crushing defeat to De Clare's new ally, Donnchadh, grandson of Brian ruadh, and in which Donnchadh and many of his gentlemen and followers were slain.

On Wednesday, May 10, 1318, the Feast of SS Gordianus and Epimachus (Thursday, May 11, according to Clyn), Richard De Clare received his *coup de grâce* in the decisive battle of Disert Ui Deaghaidh (Dysert O Dea), near Corofin. He himself, four of his Knights, with eighty English and an unknown number of his Irish allies were slain, and the enormous preys they had seized with the intention of lodging them at Bunratty were captured by the victors. De Clare's body was soon after brought to Limerick and interred in the monastery of St Francis. When the fugitives from the battle arrived hot-foot at Bunratty, De Clare's widow, seeing all was lost, put the "choicest of the town's wealth and valuable effects" on board her galleys, set fire to the castle and town, and sailed away never to return.

A post-mortem inquisition taken at Bunratty, on May 26, 1321, to enquire into the estate of Richard de Clare's son, Thomas, who had died a short time before, and who was the last male representative of the family, now wiped out, gives some interesting information as to what kind of a building the castle built by Sir Thomas de Clare was. It describes it as "a fortress, in which is a *large tower*, the walls of which are sufficiently good, but not built up nor roofed." It goes on then to give particulars of some of the appurtenances, but it is quite plain that the castle consisted of one large tower only, the top of which, with the roof, was gone, doubtless due to the conflagration of May, 1318. The mill was only capable of supplying the wants of the inhabitants of the castle. The lands had lain waste during the preceding three years; "and neither are there any free tenants nor others dwelling in Thomond, save only the Irishmen who dominate therein, with the exception of a few dwellers in the town, who are beginning to rebuild in the said town, which was burned and destroyed on the day when Lord Richard de Clare was slain; after whose death neither Englishmen nor Irishmen paid any rent, nor did any service." The fish weirs the rabbit warrens were worth twenty shillings yearly, and the entire profits of Lord Richard de Clare out of the place from all sources, in times of peace, were upwards of forty marks (£26 13s. 4d.), which sum, and more, he expended on the lands. The jurors further say "that no one can hold possession of anything in the said land without a new conquest," and that the castle cannot be guarded for less than one hundred marks (£66 13s. 4d.) yearly. That the Castle of Quin was overthrown during the lifetime of Lord Richard de Clare, and the churches of "Conyhi" (Quin) and "Bonrat" were then of no value, but in time of peace were taxed at £10, and De Clare had the presentation thereto.

The castle, now again in the hands of the King (Edward II), must have been repaired soon after, for we find it granted by him,



"EARL'S STUDY"



"EARL'S STUDY"

to James Bellafago, on December 9, 1326, at a yearly rent of £40, to be held during his pleasure, together with certain other lands in the Co. Limerick that belonged to Richard de Clare, but lately held by his sister Matilda and her husband, Robert de Welle.

But at last after a stormy existence of fifty-five years Bunratty fell on July 20, 1332, to the prowess of King Muirheartach and Mac Connara, probably Maccon, son of Lochlainn, son of Cumheadha, mór. The particulars of its fall are not stated by the Annalists, but the castle probably fell as the result of a sudden attack. Clynns says it was "destroyed" (*destruitur*); Grace in describing its fall uses a similar word *diruitur*; Henry de Marlburgh, writing in 1406, says it was "laid waste" (*vastatum fuit*); and MS. Laud, 523 (*Bodleian*), asserts that it was "thrown to the ground;" (*ad terram prosternitur*). Clynns also makes the statement that the castle was considered impregnable (*inexpugnabile*). The only conclusion that can be drawn from these words is that Bunratty on this occasion was utterly ruined, and practically rased to the ground.

In 1342, King Edward III received a report that Bunratty was in the hands of his "Irish enemies." So it apparently remained, a confused heap of stones and rubbish, until 1353, in which year the Justiciar, Sir Thomas de Rokeby, with a strong force of English troops, "caused both Thomond and Munster, with their rulers, to wit, Mac Connara and Mac Dirmuid [Mac Carthy] to submit to him, and he rebuilt the Castle of Bunratty."¹

This must have been to all intents a new castle, and the third called Bunratty.

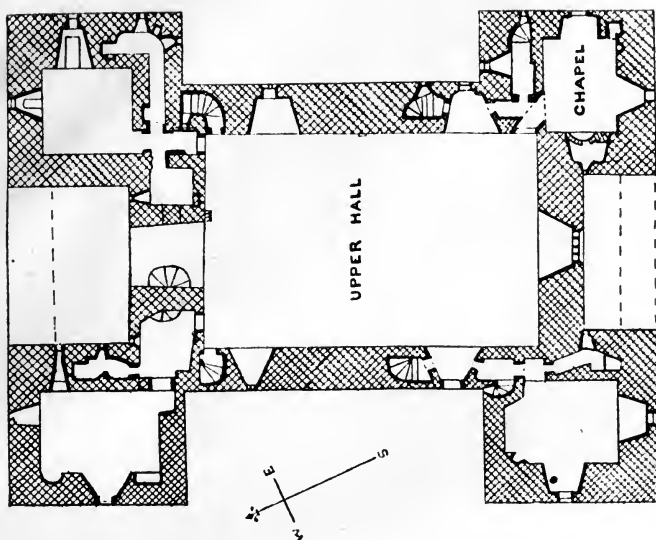
About 1355, while, it is supposed, Bunratty was still garrisoned by the English, two men of the Clanncoilein were condemned there to the stake, and executed for "heresy," by Roger Craddock, Bishop of Waterford, a Franciscan friar, 1350-1361, translated to Landaff in the latter year —, without the knowledge or licence, it seems, of his Metropolitan, Ralph O Ceallaigh, Archbishop of Cashel (1345-1361). "A Prelate of great learning and approved virtue."² Wadding, however, states that the crime for which these unfortunate men suffered was not heresy but a "contumely offered to the Virgin Mary." In any case, the Irish Archbishop, incensed at such flouting of his authority, and probably horrified at its cruelty, went to Waterford, and on the Thursday after the Feast of St Francis, [Thursday, Oct. 7th, 1355], "entered privately into the churchyard of the Blessed Trinity at Waterford, by the little door of St Catherine, guarded by a numerous troop of armed men, and made an assault on the bishop in his lodgings, and grievously wounded him, and many others who were in his company, and robbed him of his goods. And all this was done (as it is said) by the advice of Walter Reve, who pretended to be Dean of Waterford, and of William Sendall, Mayor of the City."³

Sometime in this year, 1355, the Irish again captured Bunratty,

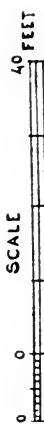
¹ *Cotton MSS.*—Vesp. B. ii, fol. 126 and Domit. xviii, fol. 856.

² *Vide Ware's Bishops*, p. 478 and Eubel *Hierarch Cath.*

³ *Cotton MSS.* Vesp. B. xi, 127 b. and Domit. xviii, 886. B.M. *Vide also Ware's Bishops*, p. 533, and Wadding's *Annal. minor.*

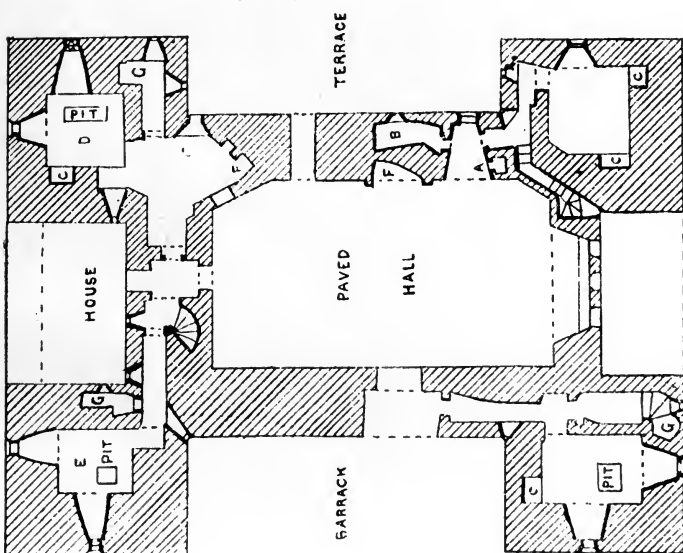


J. M. W. 1906



PLAN AT THE UPPER HALL.

PLANS OF BUNRATTY CASTLE



J. M. W. 1906



for on September 4th of same, Edward III ordered the release of Thomas fitz John fitz Maurice, "who, for the loss of the Castle of Bunratty was taken and detained prisoner in Limerick, but cannot be indicted." The English connection with Thomond was now completely severed, and from that year until the submission of Murchadh Ó Brian to Henry VIII,—nearly 200 years—no Eng-



DONAT EARL OF THOMOND (Portrait at Dromoland)

lishman set foot inside the castle, except perhaps as a prisoner or a peaceful vendor of his wares.

The carved stone, 22 inches by 13 inches, inserted in the east wall of the upper hall, was knocked off the top of the castle over 40 years ago, and is of great interest, as bearing on the history of the castle, for it belongs to a period during which the records are dumb. On this stone, which seems to have been the key-stone of an ope, are the raised figures 1397, or, as some would have it, 1357. It seems to afford certain proof that Bunratty was occupied in that year, when the whole of Thomond was in Irish hands.

The most reliable of those curious lists of castle-builders, copied from an older document by Chevalier O Gorman, now in the

Royal Irish Academy Library,¹ positively states that Bunratty was built by Maccon Mac Connara, son of the chief founder of Quin Monastery, who died, it is believed, in 1428, assisted by his second son, Seán, whose death took place in 1467, both of whom were chiefs of Clanncoilein. Curiously enough expert architectural opinion favours this statement, as the present building shows no features that can fix its erection earlier than the 15th century. Whether we believe it to be the work of De Rokeby, in 1353, or of the Macnamaras, some seventy years later, there are strong and convincing reasons for rejecting the theory that it is the original castle built by Sir Thomas de Clare in 1277. This latter, according to Mac Craith, chiefly consisted of "a roofed impregnable donjon, and in 1289, a sum of money was spent on it for the "covering of the big tower." Again, in the post-mortem inquisition into the estate of Thomas de Clare, junior, in 1321, three years after the place was set on fire by his mother, the jurors who were actually in the building, or else looking at it, describe it as a "fortress in which is a large tower, the walls of which are good enough, but not built up [*i.e.*, completed] or roofed." It is plain, I think, that De Clare's castle consisted of one large tower only, and some minor buildings, quite unlike the present castle, which has four massive corner towers like De Clare's other fortress at Quin. We should, moreover, expect a simple plan for De Clare's first castle, for it was then put up under manifest difficulties, in a hostile country, and when time was everything.

The castle is undoubtedly of Norman type; but there was not an abbey in Ireland at the time that did not house a man capable of producing such, did Mac Connara so wish it. It was just as easy to procure a Norman plan for a castle, as to get a so-called "Gothic" plan of a church. The answer to this of course, is, that no other castle of the type was built in Thomond, except, perhaps, the Castle of Clare, a small part of which remains, but whose founder, plan and date are quite unknown.

How and when Bunratty changed from Macnamara into O'Brien ownership will very likely never be ascertained. It certainly was the property of Conchobhar, King of Thomond (ob. 1539), and probably his father, Toirdhealbhach donn (ob., 1528). Conchobhar's third son of Toirdhealbhach (ob., 1557), possessed it in 1550, and in 1552, Conchobhar's second son, Domhnall mór, held the office of "Steward of Boirenn and Tradry." It was not part of the lands of Murchadh, King, afterwards first Earl of Thomond (ob., 1551), for it is not enumerated among the castles and lands devised by him in his will, of which, however, we have but a poor copy. It remained the property of the other Earls, the direct descendants of Conchobhar, until alienated in 1712, by Henry eighth and last Earl of Thomond.

Taking all things into consideration, it seems reasonable to conclude:—That Sir Thomas de Clare's castle, built in 1277, was destroyed to the very foundations in 1332; that a really new castle, on an entirely different plan, but on the same site, was erected by the Justiciar, De Rokeby, in 1355; that the reputed building by

¹ MS. 24D, 10.

the Macnamaras in the early 15th century was only a restoration, probably so extensive as to warrant Irish writers in saying it was altogether their work; and lastly that it passed from Macnamara into O'Brien hands in or about A.D. 1500.

Bunratty was the seat of Barnaby (*recte* Brian)), 6th Earl of Thomond, during the Great Rebellion which commenced in 1641. He was a man of very weak character, and lived through those



BARNABY EARL OF THOMOND (Portrait at Dromoland)

troublesome times with little credit to himself. The Earl was governor of the county, and represented the King, to whom he professed his profound loyalty, yet all through he was on the best of terms with the insurgents, a great many of whom were his own blood relations, and entertained them freely in Bunratty. Later on he surrendered his castle to the friends of the Parliament on at least three different occasions, without firing a shot, and, strangest thing of all, managed to pull through those difficult times without material damage to himself or his estate.

In November, 1642, he allowed Lord Forbes—a bigoted Scotchman and an enemy of the King—who had been sent to Ireland with a fleet by the Parliament to commit all the depredations possible, to take possession of the castle. Forbes found in the stables “about three score horses fit for service,” and also discovered £2,000 hidden in the walls of the castle, which he and his friends, including the notorious Hugh Peters, his chaplain and adviser, made their own of. In or about November, 1645, the Earl delivered up the castle a second time without making the slightest show of resistance to his masterful kinsman, Inchiquin, then also the King’s enemy, who found in Bunratty large military stores and sufficient horses in good condition to remount his cavalry.

The castle was a place of great strategical importance, commanding the passage of ships to and from Limerick, and for this reason its possession was coveted by all parties. On March 10, 1646, a Parliamentary fleet under the command of Rear-Admiral William Penn—whose wife, Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, supposed to be a Dutchman, was born in East Clare—left Dingle, having a large body of troops on board, sailed up the Shannon, and anchored near Glyn Castle, at the opposite side of the river. Communications having passed between the Earl and Penn, the latter landed 700 men on one of the islands near the mouth of the O Garney river, and that night quartered them in the castle, having “found his Lordship willing in what he could to comply with us.” Thus for the third time Barnaby delivered up the place to the deadly enemies of his friend, the King. Lieut.-Colonel John Mc Adam, a brave and competent officer, was put in command of the Puritan garrison, and everything possible was done to prepare the place against a possible attack. For two months the Earl remained in Bunratty, on the best of terms with Penn and Mc Adam, while the garrison was raiding the surrounding country. On the morning of the 9th of May Barnaby left Bunratty on Capt. Grigg’s ship, and arrived at Beagh, having sent on his luggage and what Penn calls his “lumber” before him—how valuable now that lumber would prove—and at 2 p.m. went on board Penn’s ship, a salute of five guns being fired in honour of the Earl. He asked them to have a minister to preach before him, and after the sermon dined with Penn. At 10 o’clock on the 11th May, Barnaby sailed away for England on Grigg’s ship, never again, I believe, to return to Bunratty.

The Supreme Council of the Confederates, being foiled in their attempt to send 4,000 men from Leinster and Munster, and 2,000 from the other Provinces, to Britain to fight for the King, sent some of the Munster forces to Clare, in order to stop the depredations of the Parliament troops lodged in Bunratty, and encamped them at Quin. Lord Muskerry, son of the Earl of Thomond’s step-sister, was put in command of these men, who were raw levies, and badly fed, clothed, and paid. Bunratty was now closely invested, the besiegers attacking from the north. On May 12 the Confederates took Cappagh Castle, and soon after the Castle of Rosmanagher fell into their hands, both not far from Bunratty. All the ships of the Parliamentary fleet were, on June 27, moved up

the river O Garney and anchored close to the castle. The siege dragged on with varying success until July 1st, when Mc Adam was wounded in the knee by a ball from a small field piece, of which he died the same night. Hardly was he dead when Penn discovered the men grumbling over another hoard of the Earl's money and plate found in some corner of the castle, after his departure, and which the officers refused to divide with them, viz., "18 bags of money and some plate," which they were "resolute" in dividing among themselves alone. The siege continued until July 13th, when, after a prolonged and brave defence, the garrison was compelled to capitulate, "for their lives only, and the officers their swords, leaving the place, cannon, horses, ammunition, and provisions to the Confederates; and embarking their sick and wounded men, returned by sea to Cork." Penn, who felt keenly his defeat, was told by the officers that the surrender was due to the loss of the corcass to the south-west of the castle, which fell into the hands of the Confederates, and that in any case they should be forced to yield in four days' time owing to the lack of food. He removed his ships on the 12th to Beagh Road, and sailing down the Shannon on the 16th anchored at Scatterry. Next day they entered Carrigaholt Bay to obtain water and provisions, which Sir Donall O'Brien's representative refused to sell them until they had threatened to attack the castle. The fleet then moved back to Scatterry, and emptied all the wells on the island. Here the ships were cleaned, and the soldiers, women, and children put temporarily on shore, "to pick, wash, and refresh themselves." At length, the fleet weighed anchor, left the Shannon, and arrived in Kinsale on July 26th.

On September 8, 1651, General Ireton, finding Bunratty a suitable place for a depot, lodged in the castle a company of Foot and a troop of Horse, under Captain Preston, without receiving any opposition, and persuaded Lieut.-General Ludlow, who suffered from what he himself calls a "dangerous cold," to rest in Bunratty for two days.

On March 25, 1656, Earl Barnaby leased Bunratty to John Cooper, of Meelick, "to be surrendered on a year's warning, if my Lord or his Sone come to settle there." Henry, the last Earl of Thomond (ob., April 80, 1741), leased the castle on October 4, 1709, for 99 years, to one Robert Amory. On September, 26th, 1712, a lease for ever of the castle, farm, and lands of Bunratty was granted to Thomas Amory, reserving certain rights to the Earl. In 1725, Amory sold his lease to Thomas Studdert, of "Arlo-mount," Co. Limerick, but then of Kilkishen; in the senior line of which family the place has since remained. The present owner, Mr. Thomas Studdert, of Bunratty, has lately been in communication, I am informed, with the Irish Board of Works, with the view of having the castle vested as an ancient monument; a consummation devoutly to be wished, but, I regret to say, as yet unaccomplished.

The present castle, which in its general features is very plain and of uniform workmanship, consists of four square corner towers joined by massive curtain walls rising nearly to the full height.

The towers are of great complexity of design, impossible to be described in a few words, and on the north and south sides of the castle are connected by lofty arches; under the northern one an 18th century addition has been built. On the west side a 17th century terrace, connecting the towers on that side, has been inserted, on which has been built a modern police barrack; and facing the river there is a similar one on the east side, from which the castle is entered by a small door. Before the erection of the terrace this door must have been reached by a flight of steps, or perhaps by a ladder, as was usual in the round towers. The central part of the castle consists of three large rooms, superimposed. The lowest, having immensely thick walls, was probably a store room, the entrance to which was in the south wall, but is now gone, being replaced by a modern gate. The middle or tiled hall, probably used as a reception room, has a large plain 17th century

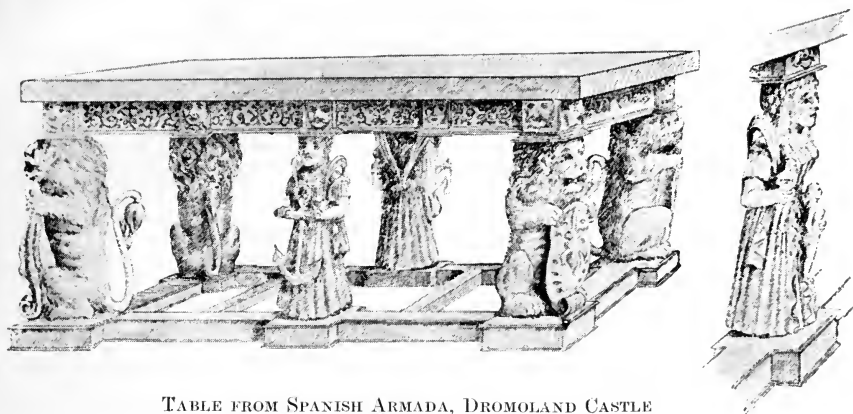


TABLE FROM SPANISH ARMADA, DROMOLAND CASTLE

chimney-piece of limestone, and had windows opening on the east terrace. Over this is the once magnificent hall, on the wall of which some of the original 17th century stucco work is still attached. There were originally two recessed windows in the west side and two similar ones on the east. The large splayed south window, with four trefoil headed lights and cusped foliage, has been much altered and disimproved, it is supposed, some time in the early 17th century. The carved stones embedded in the east wall of this room with inscription previously referred to, should be examined, and also the interesting little chapel in the south-east tower, with its pretty stucco ceiling should on no account be missed.

The room, traditionally called "The Ladies' Drawing Room," rests on a vaulting between the corner towers on the north; and east of this is the room called "The Ladies' Chapel," which was probably an oratory.

The church of Bunratty stands about 250 yards west of the castle, and is rather an uninteresting building. No reference to a church in this place previous to the De Clare occupation has been

met with. The original church was probably built by Sir Thomas de Clare, and was replaced by the present building about 1450-1500, the work of Mac Namaras or O Briens. The churches of Bunratty and Quin, "with their chapels," were valued "in times of peace," at £10 yearly, and the De Clares held the presentation. Donough, 4th Earl of Thomond, says in his will, Nov. 28, 1617, that he had "newly edified" this church, and leaves sufficient glass, out the store of that commodity in the castle, to glaze the windows. A special interest is added to the place by its being the last resting-place of Mr. James Frost, M.R.I.A., author of the *History and Topography of the Co. of Clare*, and for many years a valued Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland.

NOTE.—An oblong mote and traces of the bailey remain to the west of the castle. A great fosse and bane remain about 500 yards to the S.W. of the castle.



DETAIL OF SPANISH TABLE, DROMOLAND

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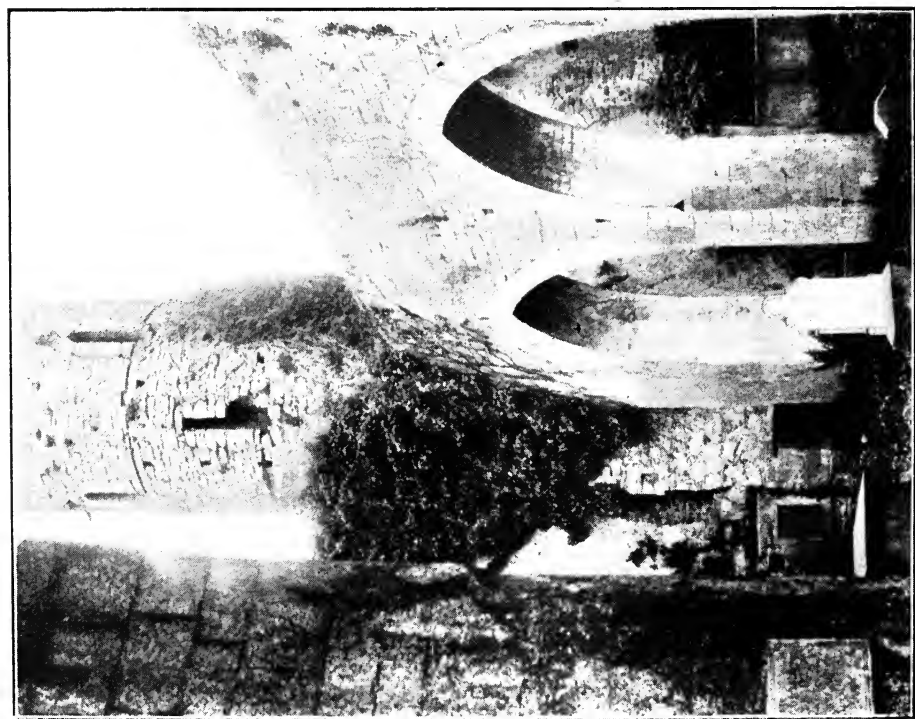
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SS. PETER AND PAUL, KILMALLOCK



IN SOUTH TRANSEPT, DOMINICAN ABBEY, KILMALLOCK

SECTION VII.

LOCH GUR AND KILMALLOCK.

LOCH GUR.

Loch Gur is a small but picturesque sheet of water situated about three miles north of Bruff. It has long been famous for its archaeological interest. The first account of value was contributed by Crofton Croker to the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1833.¹ This is a very useful record of the state of the remains as they were at the beginning of the last century. The surroundings of the lake were accurately surveyed by Sir Bertram Windle,² who gives us a trustworthy account of the present state of the antiquities. It should be remarked that there are several "circles" marked on the Ordnance Survey map, which are mere fortuitous accumulations of boulders of no antiquarian significance.

Apart from the mediæval monuments, the castles and the church, which have their own special interest, there are, according to Sir Bertram Windle's list, seven standing stones, twelve stone circles, two dolmens, and an alignment to be seen here. For a full description of these reference may be made to his detailed survey.

The most important is that on the east side of the road from Limerick to Cork—called on the Ordnance Survey map, "Rannach Cruim Duibh." This name is obviously both ungrammatical and meaningless, and the variants that are to be found in the works of Windele, Lenihan, and others, are equally so. It is hopeless to get at the proper form of the name, now that the local traditions have been contaminated by the meddlesomeness of amateur dabblers in antiquarianism. Putting one form with another we may guess with some probability that the original from which these corruptions have been derived was *Rothanna Chruim Dhuibh*, "the wheels, or circles, of Crom Dubh." In any case the name is not of much importance. It shows every sign of having been the invention of some hedge schoolmaster of the 18th century who had read the story of St Patrick and the alleged pagan deity Crom Cruach.

The circle as it stands is different from any other circle known to the present writer. It lines a hollow in the top of a low earthen mound. The diameter of the mound at its base is 210 feet; the diameter of the circle is given by Sir B. Windle as averaging 153 feet, and it is sunk to a depth of 3 feet below the top of the mound.

¹ Part I., p. 105; reprinted, but without the illustrations, in Stock's *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, Part ii of the "Archæology" section, p. 117.

² "On Certain Megalithic Remains immediately surrounding Lough Gur, Co. Limerick," *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxx, sect. C., p. 117. *All other papers on these remains should be used only with the greatest possible caution.*

Some of the stones are of large size, others are smaller lining stones.

Unfortunately this circle was "restored" some time ago, and the exact extent of that work is not fully recorded. A writer is quoted by Sir Bertram Windle as reporting the statement of the restorer (since deceased) to the effect that "very few stones were introduced into the circle, and all the rest had fallen from their upright position and had been covered by the earth from the sur-



DOUBLE CIRCLE AT KNOCKROE, LOCH GUR

rounding mound." This hardly squares with the account in Crofton Croker's description, and that of some previous writers cited by him. These are as follows :—

Twiss, *Tour in Ireland* (1775).—"Three circles of stones . . . near a small lake called Gur, the principal of which is about 150 feet in diameter, and consists of forty stones, of which the largest is 13 feet by 6 broad and 4 thick."

Wesley, *Journal* (1785).—"I found . . . a large Druidical temple. I judged by my eye that it was not less than 100 yards in diameter, and it was, if I remember right, full as entire as that at Stonehenge or that at Stanton Drue."

Trotter, *Walks Through Ireland* (1817).—"A large circular Druidical place of worship; the diameter was 60 yards and the circle was formed by large upright stones; one very large one, much higher than the rest, about 18 feet, stood in it."

Fitzgerald and McGregor, *History of Limerick* (1826).—"Beyond the village of Grange, close to the public road from Limerick to Cork, on the left, are three curious stone circles. The first is 45 yards in diameter, and consists at present of sixty-five large



MONOLITH IN GREAT CIRCLE, LOCH GUR

upright stones, but there were formerly many more. One of these stones is 13 feet high 7 feet broad and 4 feet thick. The entire circle is surrounded by a sloping bank about 12 feet in breadth and 6 feet in height."

Croker himself accepts the last description as "pretty accurate," but gives his own measurements "without asserting that mine are the more correct of the two." They are—circumference 165 yards, diameter 46 yards, height of largest stone 9 feet 6 inches, circumference of same 20 feet 10 inches, breadth and thickness 7 feet and

5 feet. According to Windle the largest stone in the circle measures 7 feet 9 inches high, 4 feet 3 inches thick, and 7 feet 10 inches broad.

One very peculiarly shaped weathered stone stands on the bank opposite the entrance to the enclosure. It is, as Sir B. Windle says, suspiciously like a modern addition; and it could hardly have escaped the notice of the earlier writers had it been visible in their time. In point of fact they are all silent about it.

In the field to the north were two other circles. One, which contained sixty-nine stones in 1833, has been practically destroyed. The other about 55 yards in diameter, is intact. It contains fifteen stones. Some distance to the north-north-west is a conspicuous standing stone, 10 feet 2 inches high. Yet another circle is, if possible, even more remarkable. It is known locally as *Lisín* (pronounced *lisheen*, the little earth-enclosure). It consists of a circular earth bank lined with stone slabs on each face, 182 feet in diameter and 14 feet 6 inches thick, and an inner circular mound, likewise faced with stone slabs on its circumference, 48 feet in diameter. Close by is a smaller circular mound of the same kind, faced with slabs 3 feet high and 33 feet in diameter.

The two dolmens may now be described. One is alleged to be called *Leaba na Muice*, the "Pig's Bed": this may be a trivial name, perhaps derived from the dolmen having been used at some time as a rude pigstye; but more probably it is a mere corruption of the commonplace name *Leaba Dhiarmada*, picked up by someone with an imperfect ear, a vivid imagination, and (worst of all!) good intentions. It has three uprights and one capstone; the latter is now poised on one of the uprights. The other dolmen (called by Croker "*Labig yermiddagh a Grana*," a hideous corruption, but still more hideously translated "*Ned and Grace's bed!*"'), though much injured, is a most remarkable cistvaen, 12 feet in length and 5 feet in width, lined with flat slabs and covered with three or four stones now displaced. A peasant living near by, one Garrett Punch, told Crofton Croker that an old woman had resided in it for many years, and "on her death the covering stones were thrown off and it was left in its present state by 'money diggers,' who, to use my informant's words, 'only found some burned bones in an old jug, that surely was not worth one brass farthing.'"

Loch Gur was thus the centre of a great cemetery in the Bronze Age; and we can hardly be wrong in assuming that it was a sacred lake. Whether the cemetery was there on account of the original sanctity of the water, or the loch was consecrated by the presence of the cemetery, is a question on which we can but speculate with no data to go upon. The former, on the whole, is the more probable supposition. The numerous antiquities that have been found in and around its waters are an additional testimony to the sacredness of the lake; such fine objects as the gold-chased bronze spearhead, now in the British Museum,¹ were most likely votive gifts cast into the waters of the lake, as the Continental Gauls cast gold and other precious objects into the sacred ponds of Tolosse.

¹ Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, p. 312.



GREAT CIRCLE, LOCH GUR



LEABA DHIARMADA, LOCH GUR



In Irish literature the lake appears as *Loch Gair*. Among the references to it may be cited the following :—

In the weird poem on Finn's horse-race in the *Book of Leinster* (edited by Stokes in *Revue Celtique* vii. 289. under the title "Find and the Phantoms," we find the stanza :—

"A black horse belonging to Dól mac Dá-crech
Was in every game that he played :
To the rock over Loch Gair
He won the three prizes of the assembly."

The rock may have been *Carraig an aifrinn*, or else *Carraig alla*. The same stanza is quoted in the *Agallamh na Senorach*.

"The white rocks of Loch Gair" lay in line of the mad rush of the drunken Ultonians described in the *Mesca Ulad* (ed. Hennessy, Todd, Lecture Series, p. 14) : where "they levelled every hill over which they went so that they left it in low glens ; the iron wheels of their chariots cut the roots of every forest through which they passed, so that they left it an arable plain. The streams and fords and pools were dry, bare flagstones for long after them, for the quantity that their bodies carried away from the contents of water-fall, ford, and pool."

Dun Gair, the fortress on the top of *Cnoc an Dúin* (the promontory that projects into the lake), is mentioned in the *Leabar na gCeart* and in the poem of Benén among the dwellings of the King of Caiseal. (See O'Donovan's edition of the *Leabhar na gCeart*, pp. 86, 92.) Only the very slightest traces of the fortress remain.

An army was led by Dómhnall mac mic Lochlainn, King of Ireland, and the people of the North of Ireland with him into Connacht ; and Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, King of Connacht, gave him the hostages of all Connacht. Both proceeded with their forces into Munster, and they burned Luimneach (Limerick) and plundered Machaire na Mumhan (the plain of Munster) as far as Imlach Iubhaire (Emly) and *Loch Gair*, and Brugh Righ (Bruree) and Dún Achad (Dunachip, near Croom [O'Donovan]) and Druim Ua Clercén (Drummin), and they took with them the head of the son of Caileach ua Ruaire from the hills of Saingeal (Singland), and broke and demolished Ceann Coradh (Kincora), and obtained eight score hostages : *Annals F.M.*, 1088 ; *Chronicon Scotorum*, 1084.

A war broke out among the Fitz Gerald's, and Jameson of Maurice, the heir to the earldom, laid siege to Loch Gair. The chiefs of his army were Mac Carthaigh Cairprech (*i.e.*, Dómhnall mac Finghin), Corbmac óg mac Corbmaic mic Taidhg, Corbmac mac Donnchaidh óig mic Carthaigh, lord of Ealla (Duhallow), the White Knight, Ridire an Gleanna (the Knight of Glyn), and Ridire Ciarraigheach (the Knight of Kerry), Mac Muiris, O Conchobhair, and the tower of strength of the army, Mac Carthaigh mór—*i.e.*, Corbmac Ladrach. Sean mac an Iarla came to complain of his distress to the Dál gCais, for there was friendship and affinity between them—for Mór, daughter of Donnchadh mac Briain Dubh, was wife of that Sean. Ua Briain arose with love and respect and assembled the men of Tuad Mhumba and Piaras mac Seamuís Butler joined him and others

of his party and they came to the FitzGerald army. When Mac an Iarla saw the nobles of the great army of the race of Brian approaching him he resolved not to come to an engagement with them, but to leave the town unharmed, and so they parted : *Annals F.M.*, 1516.

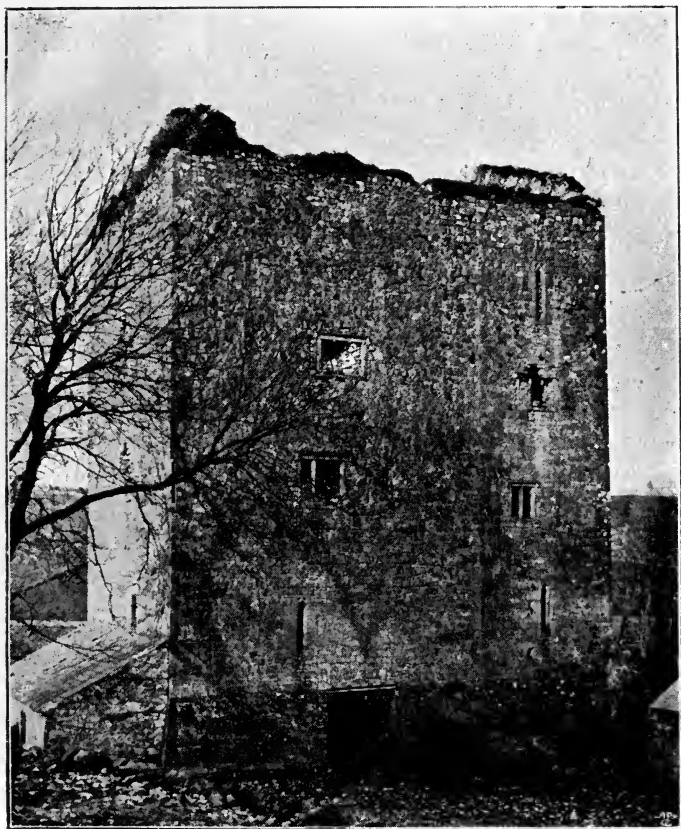
Captain Malby, with the English forces, having destroyed the Monastery of Eas Geibhtine (Askeaton), proceeded to Ath Dara



LOCH GUR CASTLE FROM S.W.

(Adare), where he remained, subjugating the people of the neighbourhood till the new lord justice, William Pelham, the Earl of Kildare, and the Earl of Ormond came to strengthen him, and they all encamped together in the Conaille. The Earl of Deas-Mumhan did not come to meet them on this occasion, because his territory had been ravaged and his people destroyed, although it had been promised him that these should not be molested. When the Earl had joined his relation, the resolution which the English adopted was to station their warders in his castles, among them that of Loch Gair : *Annals F.M.*, 1579.

In 1599, according to the *Annals*, Loch Gair was taken by the Earl of Desmond from the Queen's people, and O'Donovan in his note in the passage quote the following description from *Pacata Hibernia*: "The five and twentieth [of May, 1600] the army passing neere Loghguire, which was as yet held by the Rebels, the President, attended with a Troope of Horse, rode to take a particular



LOCH GUR CASTLE FROM WEST

view of the strength thereof, as also by what way he might most conveniently bring the Cannon to annoy the same. Hee found it to bee a place of exceeding strength, by reason that it was an Iland, encompassed with a deep Lough, the breadth thereof being, in the narrowest place, a caliever's shot over; upon one side thereof standeth a very strong Castle [Garrett's Castle, entirely demolished for building stone about a hundred years ago], which at this time was manned with a good Garrison, for there was within the Iland Iohn Fitz-Thomas, with two hundred men at the least, which showed themselves prepared to defend the place."

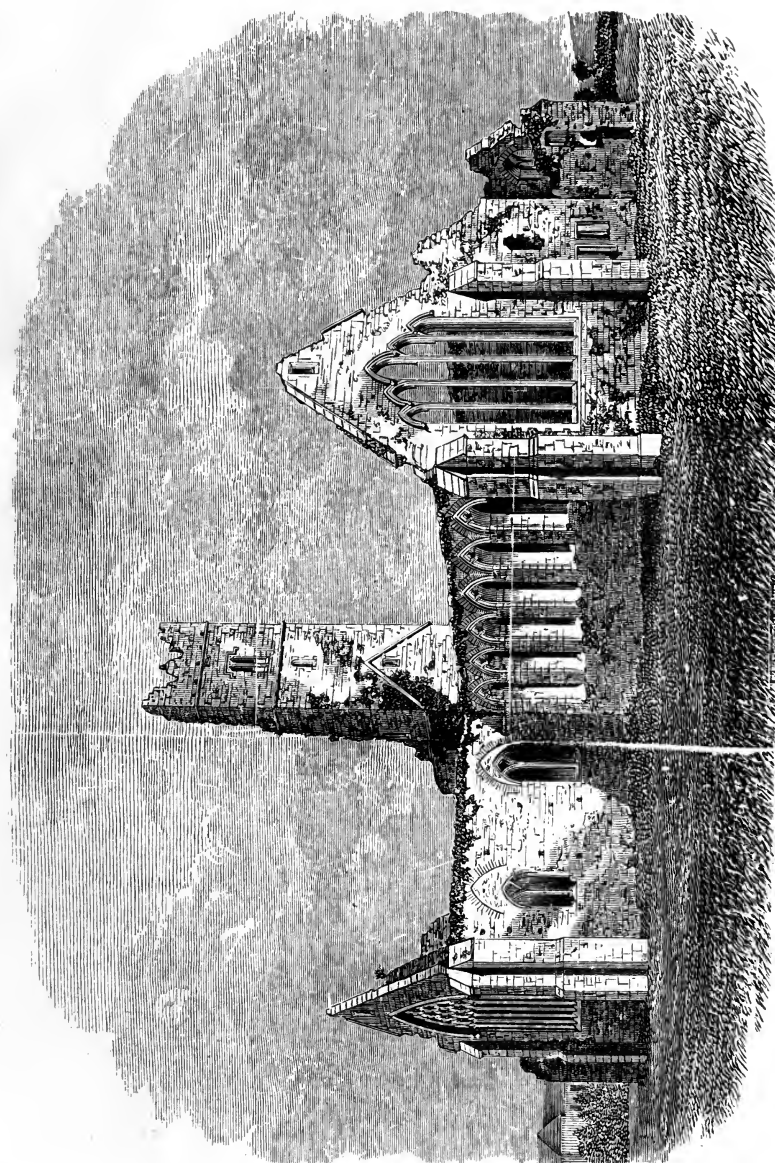
KILMALLOCK

The Church of Kilmallock, *cil mochealloe* (1050), or *cil dachelloe* (1028), is said to be derived from a very misty *St Celloc*, said to have died about A.D. 639. His very vagueness left him at the mercy of the pseudo antiquaries, who, in their frantic search for Phœnician remains in Ireland, derived it (as they did *Kilmalchedor* in Kerry from “*Moloch*, horrid king,” the “*abomination of the Ammonites*” and Phœnicians. The alternative form *Da-Chelloe* (apart from other rational reasons) should have taught them better. The place may, or may not, be the *Makolicon*¹ of Ptolemy, A.D. 150, which some identify with *Cashel*. Leaving speculation, the place (as we see) is named in 1028 and 1050, and it was a parish church in 1201. King John ordered an enquiry to be made whether Kilmallock Castle and the Cantred of *Karbry* belonged to the Kingdom of Cork or to Limerick, in 1206. Lands in its neighbourhood at *Ardpatrick*, *Eleuri* (? *Claire*), and in *Fontemel* (or *Fontymchyll*,^o the district covered by *Kilquane*, *Effin*, *Darach-Mochua* and *Dungadmond* parishes, round its walls), were granted to *W. de Burgo* in 1199. The place must soon have developed into a town of some standing under Norman rule. Fairs were licensed at it in 1221, and we have a list of the chief citizens, in an agreement with them 1222 to 1230. The mill was restored in 1248, and there are in the *Black Book of Limerick* a number of important deeds relating to it, about 1280; these mention the “*main street*” to the Church of the Apostles *Peter and Paul*, the *Via Regalis* towards *Emly*, the *Cross*, *Mill*, *John’s Street*, *Flemyn Street*, opposite to the *Cross*; *Blapat Street* (*Blossom St*), *Water Street*, *Botherbalmakene* to the east, *Fotislae* to the south, *Martynlake* to the north, *Kokytlach*, *Fotisland* and *Aroldishyl*. *Nicholas Stoppel* was then provost, and it had a harper named *Sandyr* who lived at *Fotisland*. In 1361 the perpetual vicarage of *SS Peter and Paul*, Kilmallock, is named in the *Papal Petitions*. The church was enlarged by *Maurice FitzGerald* in 1420. In 1594 the Collegiate Church of *St Peter* had a cloister, hall, buildings and orchard. This church, a few years later, was the scene of the humiliating submission of the unfortunate *James FitzGerald*, the “*Sugan Earl*,” and it was the place where the attendance of the equally hapless “*English Earl*,” his rival, at the Protestant Church service led to so serious a riot among the citizens.

The beautiful Dominican Convent was founded about 1291. In October that year the friars were given a plot of land by the burgesses, but Kilmallock was a valued appanage of the Bishops of Limerick, and the Bishop’s retainers violently expelled the Dominican Preachers and burned their house. As so often, we have divergent accounts of the foundation,² the more probable (and tallying best with the record) is that it was founded that same year by *Maurice*

¹ See “*Identification*,” *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxiii (c), pp. 87-88.

² The fourteenth century works were probably made by *Maurice*, the first “*white knight*.”



DOMINICAN PRIORY, KILMALLOCK

Lord Offaley ; but De Burgo says by a second son of " John of Callan," in 1260. William, Bishop of Emly (these prelates and their officials frequently made trouble by intruding on Kilmallock and Fontemel) was accused of having taken a silver box out of the Church of the Friars Preachers in 1318. There is very little history of the house, which must have been restored, and additions, such as the belfry and transept made to it in the 14th and 15th centuries.



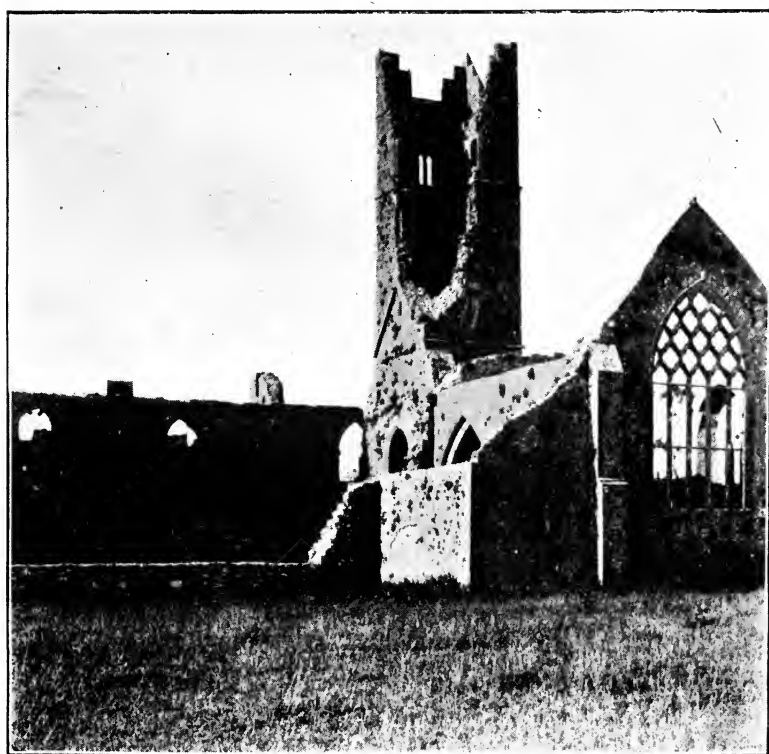
DOMINICAN FRIARY CHANCEL, KILMALLOCK

On the dissolution it was granted to the burgesses, and, in 1598, had a church, cloister, room, buildings, orchard, three gardens, 11 acres in Kilmallock, and a water mill.

There was another "Abbey," called Flacispaghe, named as demolished before 1586. The house of the Regulars of St Augustine sometimes identified with the Collegiate Church, but given separately from it in 1410, may be intended. The strange name may perhaps be "Lackanaspike" (Leac an easpuig), or "Parcell of the Bishop near the hill of Kilmallock," probably where the nearly levelled Church of St Mocheallog can be traced on the rising ground. In 1318 Nicholas Kerdiff fled for sanctuary to the Church of St.



BLOSSOMS GATE, KILMALLOCK



DOMINICAN PRIORY, KILMALLOCK

Myhallok; it is called "S. Mathologus on the hill of Kilmallock" in 1410. As to the town, it suffered severely in the two Desmond rebellions, having then hardly begun to recover from a cruel disaster. In 1574 it was plundered for three days by James MacMaurice, the Sweenys and Sheehys; the houses, both of wood and stone, were broken and burned, and it "became a receptacle and abode of wolves," which fierce beasts must have abounded in the dense forest of Kilquaig in Aherloe and the Ballyhoura mountains. The terrible story of the surprise of Gerald Earl of Desmond and his



SS. PETER AND PAUL, KILMALLOCK, SOUTH

Countess in it in the depth of winter and their escape, after spending the night up to their chins in water under the bushes of the river bank, will be recalled. I need only add that Lord Castlehaven, in 1645, used the castle as his chief arsenal, and in 1651 the Cromwellians took it over for the same purpose and for a hospital. There were some other "castles" (or rather stone houses, some fine remains of which remain in St. John's Street): one was called "Lauerey," and was once the house of the Earl of Desmond; it was seized by the Crown 1583, and lay near the castle. Another belonged to the Fox family in 1607 and 1655, and was named "Parostie"; a third was "Miagh's Castle" to the west of the street adjoining the town wall; another castle of the same family was near the last. In High Street were George Miagh's Castle, Francis Creagh's, Grreto

IG 42

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MARTENE POSFRA TRESQVERVNT TRIA PIGNORA IVS TO
IV SPATRIAEC AV SAMREXQVE FIDESQVE PROBANT
INTEGRAT TRITIS REPERIT VRCANDORIN EXTIS
VIRGINIS ET VERI PVRP VRA MARTYRII
LILIA PVRP VREOS INTER SVDANTIA FLVCTV S
TRESMERVERE TRIVM NOMINA MARMORHABE
FR^ES: ^{GE} ^{OR} ^W
N^E P: ALEX : BVRGATE

THE BURGATE TABLET, DOMINICAN PRIORY, KILMALLOCK

Miagh's Castle (granted to Colonel Randall Clayton) on the west of the street. The "Vicar's" Castle (held by G. Talbott, 1653) was in Limerick Street. James Fox held a castle and orchard in Blee Street in 1607; James Lewis, Laurence Wall and Captain Stannard held others in 1653. There was a castle adjoining the Water Gate to the north, "Proppinge Castle" on the River Glen (Coolagh).

COURTNERUDDERY (the White Knight's Castle), north of the Dominican Convent, on the east bank of the Glen. This was granted to Thomas Burgeate in 1579, and restored to Edmund FitzGibbon, the White Knight, though the Court was ruinous, in 1590. Maurice Hurley, of Knocklong, held it in 1617; the castle and mill were ruinous in 1655. The town gates were St John's Gate to the west; (2) the Friars' Gate to the north; (3) the Water-Port to the east (near the bridge over the Loobagh Stream); (4) the Ivy-Port to the east; and (5) the Bla-Porte, or Blossoms Gate (still very perfect) to the south: it can be well seen from the railway. The deed of John fitzElie Juvenis (Young), circa, 1280, mentions Blapat Street near this gate. None of the records name the Millmount Castle, a low mote remaining in 1839, and to the east of the station the railway embankment runs across its site. The town was absolutely*denuded of its old inhabitants by 1655—it was then "totally ruined and uninhabited."

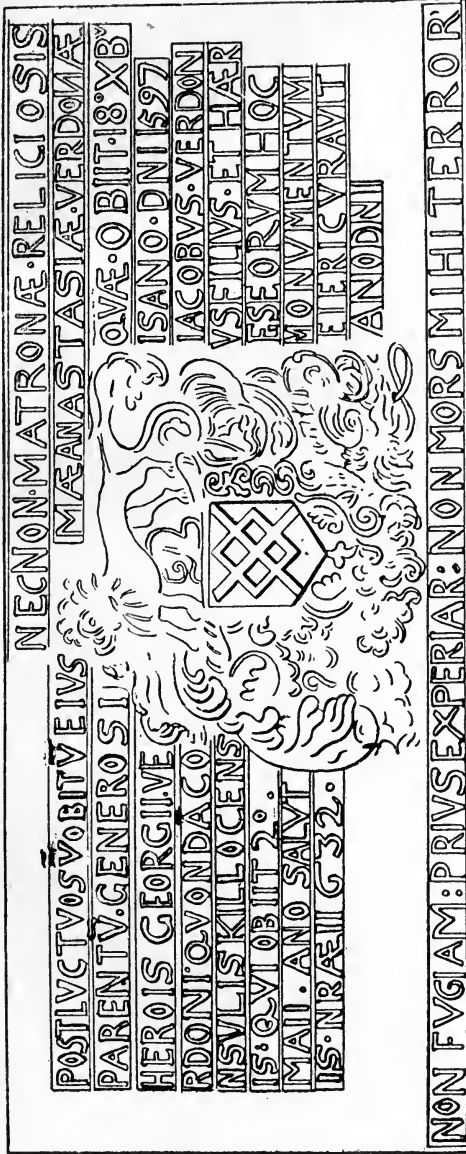
COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF SS. PETER AND PAUL.—It is an interesting massive building at the east end of the town beside the River Loobagh. An imposing view of it and the Dominican Monastery, with the town walls and the handsome new church with its lofty spire, can be got from the bridge. It has a chancel $49\frac{1}{2}$ by $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet, with a large window having five trefoil-headed lights, this part is in use as the parish church. The nave is in ruins; it has two side aisles and massive plain pointed arcades, four arches to each side, measuring 80 by 65 feet. The west window has three lights; below it is a well moulded Gothic door of the 13th century. To the south side is a broken porch with an inner door of the 15th century richly carved. The transept or side chapel is an interesting patchwork with some late insertions.

The round tower belfry, believed to be an Irish *cloictheach*, though greatly modified, and the upper part rebuilt with stepped battlements, is embedded in the west end at the end of the north arcade.

The monuments of John Verdun, "the Knight with the Spur" (put up by Sir William Coppinger), 1614, and his wife, Alsona, 1625, is elaborate and curious.

The other monuments best worthy of notice are Thomas FitzGerald and Joane Burke, 1630, Maurice, their son, and his wife Elenor, 1635; Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Webb, in 1684.

DOMINICAN FRIARY.—On the north bank of the Loobagh in an open field is this beautiful ruin. The chancel is $66\frac{1}{2}$ by 24 feet, with a noble five light east window which, like that of the south transept (the tracery of which actually fell), was repaired by our Society in 1889. The south wall has a row of Gothic windows; there are some early 14th century recesses, sedilia, and an easter



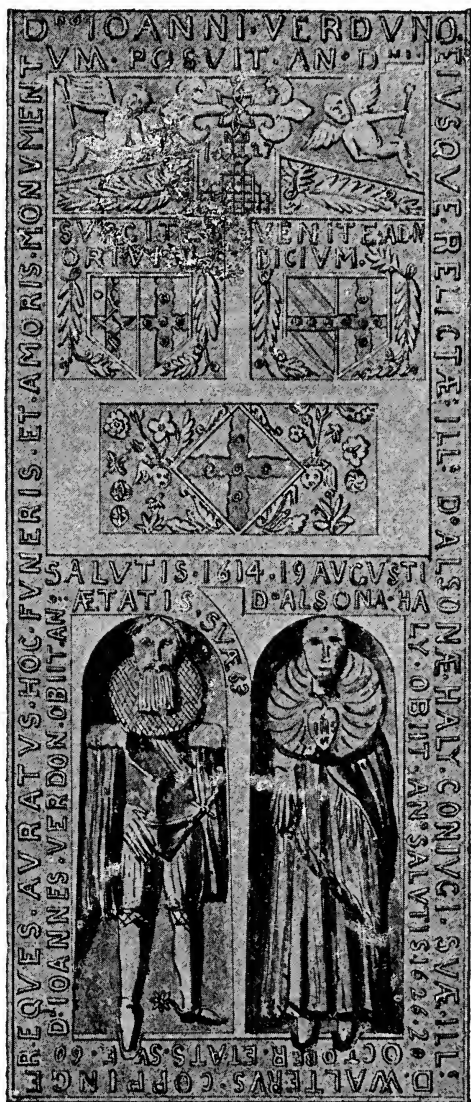
GEORGE VERDUN'S TOMB, 1632, KILMALLOCK

tomb of good design. The Burgate monument is set in the north wall, and the large slab of the White Knight lies in the centre of the choir. Popular belief accredits it with a "drop of reprobation," a little wet spot marking the anger of Heaven with the White Knight for the capture of the betrayed James of Desmond, the "Sugan Earl," captured in a cave in Aherloe. The tall graceful belfry is, as usual, at the intersection of the nave and chancel. The south-west angle was destroyed by lightning. The west window is of simple interlaced tracery so common in this country. As at Adare, the side aisle is levelled, the south transept or chapel is of ornate and pleasing design. The pillars are probably of the 13th century, and later details of the two following centuries. The later features are of the 15th century, and include a rich window with reticulated tracery (like those at Holycross Abbey and Cloyne Cathedral), and two altar windows of chapels to the east. One of the corbels, a woman with upraised arms supporting the arch, recalls one at Killone Convent near Ennis. The arches with the rich ball-flower and nail-head ornaments of their capitals are pleasing and picturesque. The two-storied sacristy, like those at Quin and Askeaton, flanks the choir to the north. On the same side beside the nave is the cloister with vaulted rooms to the north and east, the former a kitchen with a large fireplace; the day-room (so-called "chapter house") and dormitory are overhead. The vaulted north aisle collapsed, wrecking the cloister, but, in the recent restoration by the Board of Public Works under our late President, Dr. Robert Cochrane, the whole was well repaired and part of the arcade recovered. When I first remember the place in 1877 it was unenclosed and a filthy cattle shelter. The most interesting inscriptions are those of the Burgates: "1642 Tertia lux caesos memorat Septembris in anno/quam legis. Heu nondum tres tenet urna senes/Marte nepos fratresque ruunt tria pignora justo/jus patriæ causam rexque fidesque probant/integer attritis reperitur candor in extis/Virginis et veri purpura martyrii/Lilia purpureos inter sudantia fluctus/Tres meruere trium nomina marmor habe—Fr(at)res Georg. Edw. Nep. Alex. Burgate"—That of the White Knight runs: "+ I.H.S. Hic tumulus erectus fu/it in memoriam illius ste/mmatis Geraldinorum qui/vulgo vocantur equites Albi—/Joannes cum filio suo Edmundo et Mauricio fi/lio prefati Edmundi/et multi alii eiusdem famil/iæ hic tumulantur prefatus"

THE KING'S CASTLE.—It is a fine peel tower standing in the street, and about 60 feet high, with some 70 stone steps and battlemented; the large arch under it had been long used as a forge. It was saved from demolition by the action of our Society in 1897.

PLACES OF INTEREST IN NEIGHBOURHOOD.

KILFINNANE MOTE.—The ancient "Treada na riogh," or triple fort of the King, with "Drom Finghin," lies under the bold ridge to the S.W. of Kilmallock. It is a fine earthwork, a flat-topped mound, 34 feet 6 inches high over the field, 54 feet across the top, and 337 feet over all N. and S., with three rings and two fosses,



16 feet 4 inches high, and 26 feet wide, 10 feet 8 inches high, and 15 feet 6 inches thick, and 5 feet 4 inches and 9 feet thick. There is no record of a castle at or near it till the fifteenth century, nor was it a Manor.¹

ARDPATRICK.—This venerable church and round tower, on a long grassy ridge south from Kilmallock, is confused by several with its namesake (now Knockpatrick, near Foynes) in Ui Chonail. The Agallamh calls it Tulach na Feinne, whence the Fianna marched to the battle of Ventry in the third century. Lands near it and in Fontemel appear in William de Burgh's grant, 1199. As a parish church, it appears in all the ecclesiastical visitations from 1201, but has no history of outstanding importance, though it subsisted as a small religious house under a "converb," "coarb," or "comharb" of the O Langane family. The fact, its name, the connection of St Patrick with it even in the *Agallamh*,² and in the popular legend which shows an old entrenched road as "the slug of the saint's cow's horns" when she ran away, bear out the evidence of its round tower in marking it an early and once important church. Tradition in the 11th century said that the hill was granted to Patrick on condition that he removed the mountain of Cenn Febraith (Ballyhoura, Bealach Febraith); his faith was equal to the task, and left the gap of Belach Legtha. The ruins stand on a high green ridge with bold mountains to the south. The ends of the church had fallen before 1840, and it measured 85 feet by 24 feet. The north door is the only architectural feature, with a round-headed arch of sandstone, and a smaller, inserted, pointed arch of limestone. A pointed low vault, or passage, is in the S. wall. The masonry of the sides is of large sandstone blocks, forming bold antae, or projections, at the west end. There was a south wing, or residence, 25 feet by 18 feet, nearly levelled. The well is not far from the round tower, which is 39 feet from the N.W. corner of the church. The Down Survey³ gives a rough sketch of the ruin in 1656 "Upon ye Ard Patricke are ye walls of a church and watch tower," it adds: the tower was even then broken, but had three stories; it fell a little before 1827, and is now 11 feet to 6 feet high, badly breached, but of beautifully regular masonry; it was filled with rubbish in which pieces of amber and brass and many oyster shells were found by John Windele.

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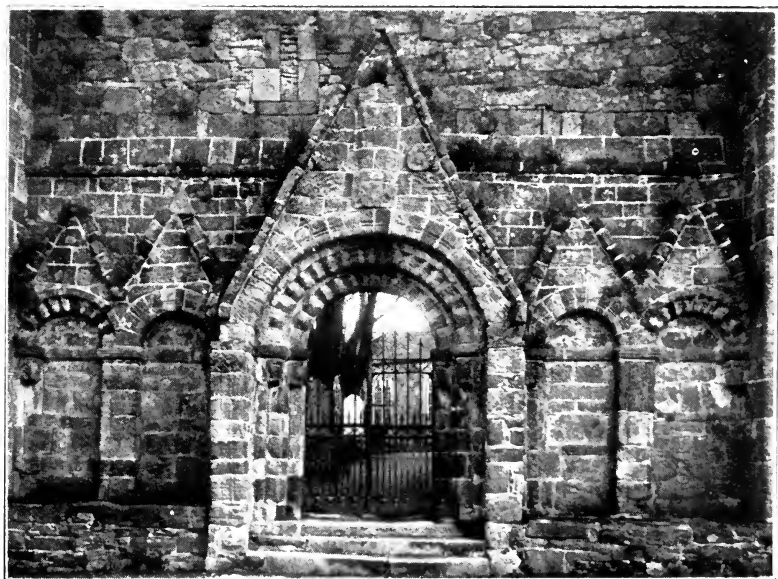
¹ P. J. Lynch, *Journal R. S. A. I.*, vol. xli, pp. 387-389.

² See *Agallamh na Senorach* in *Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii, p. 118, and the *Tripartite Life* (ed. Stokes).

³ See above p. 13.

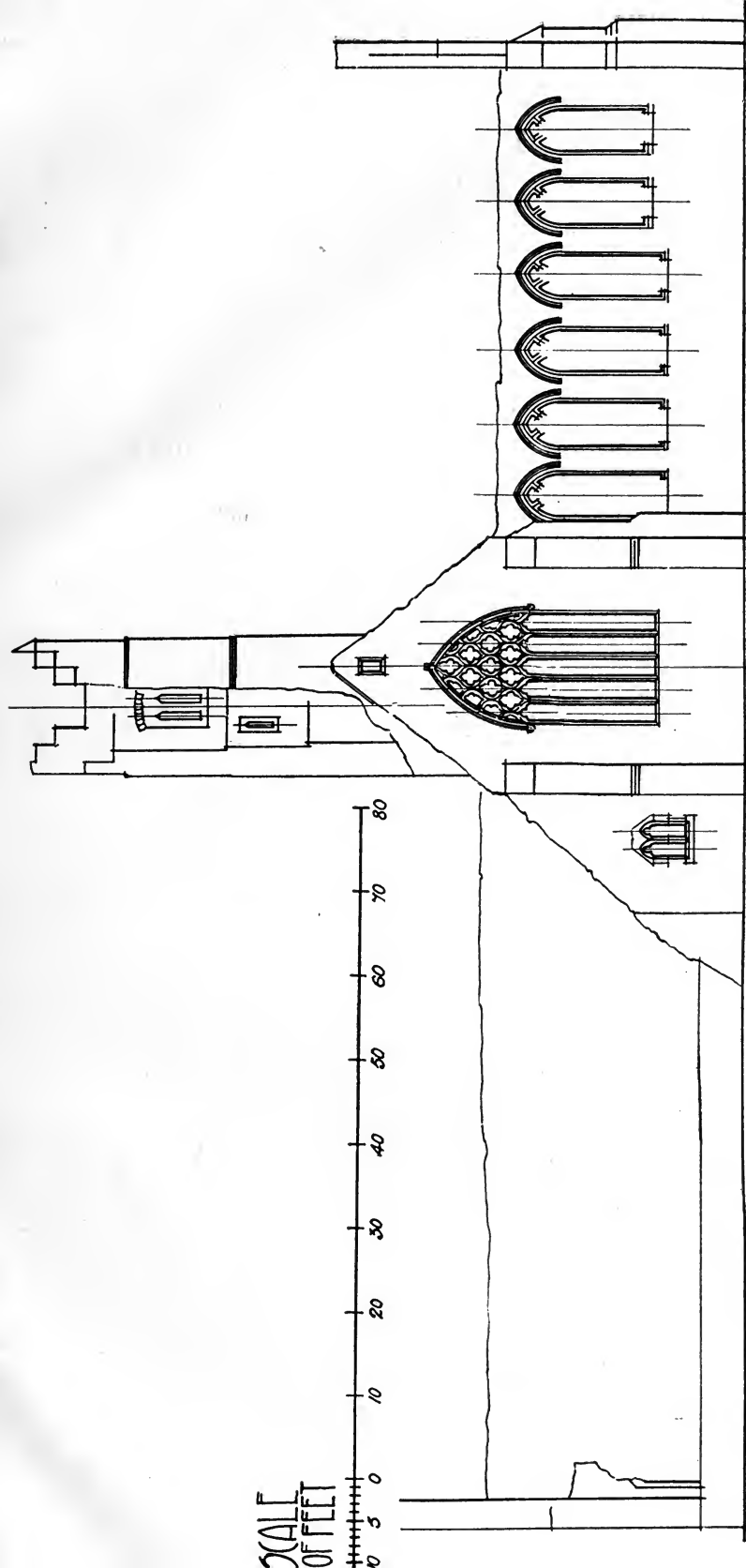


ROUND TOWER, ROSCREA



ST CRONAN'S, ROSCREA

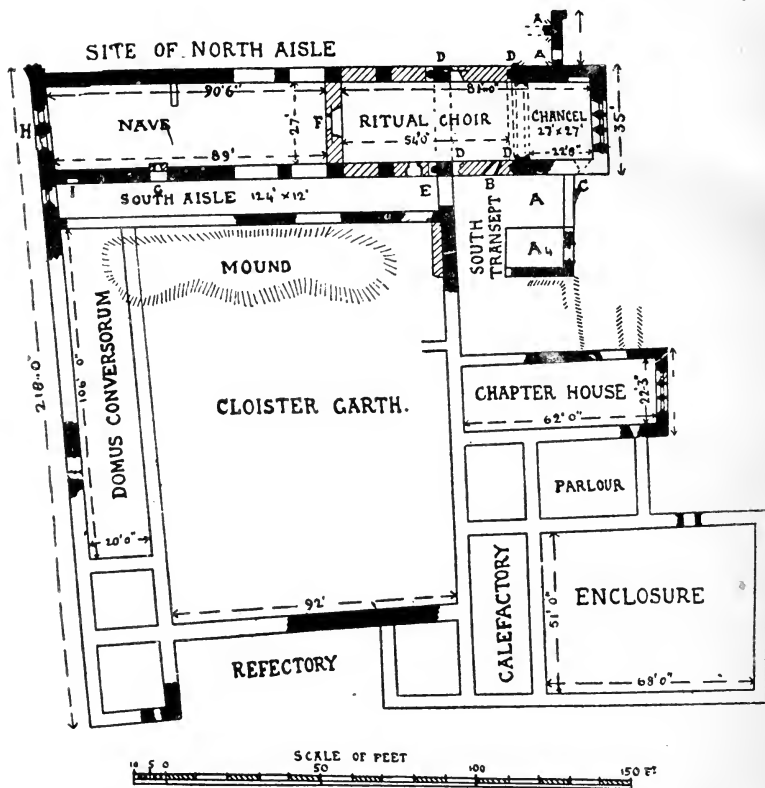
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DOMINICAN PRIORY, KILMALLOCK, SOUTH ELEVATION

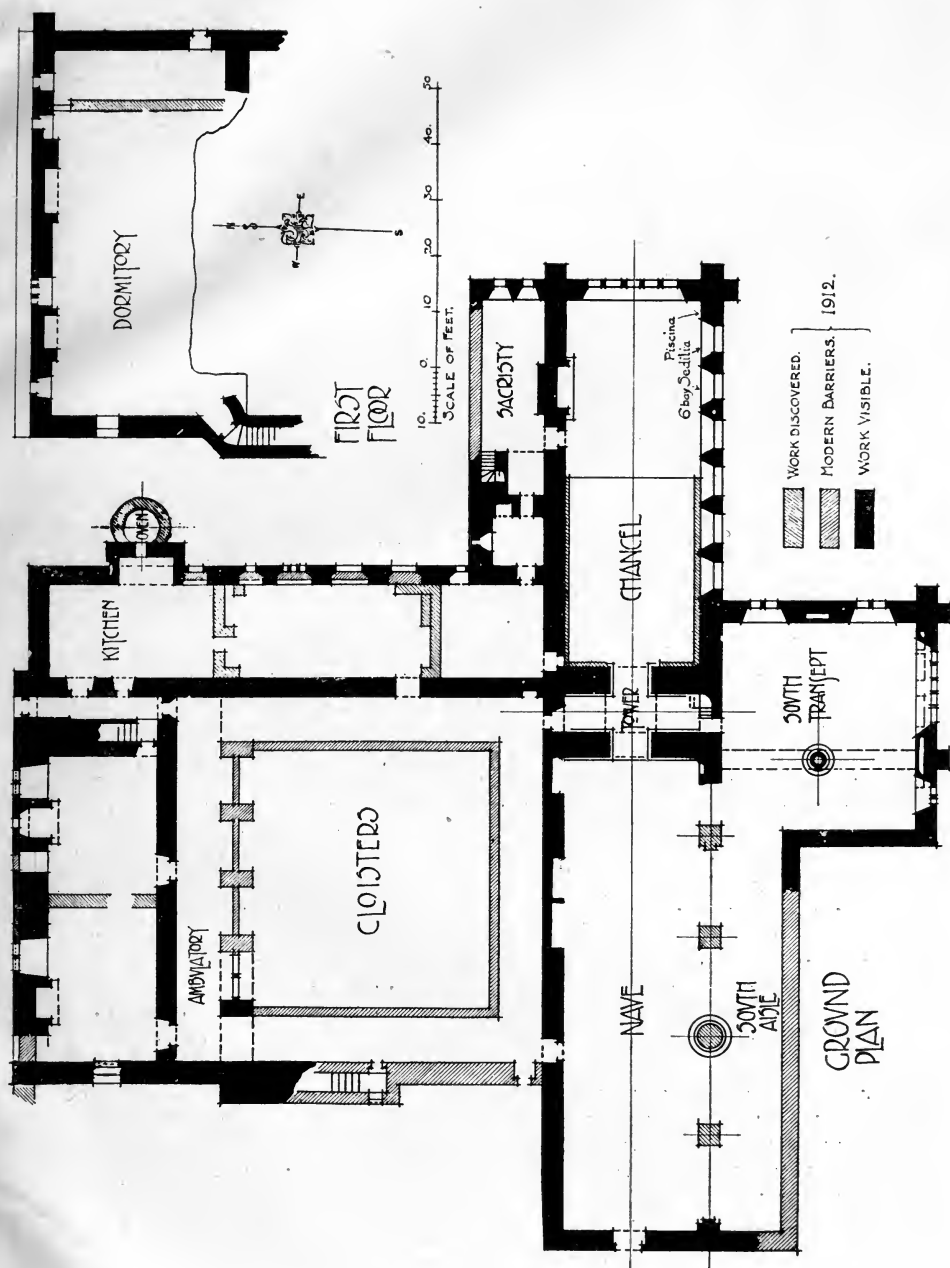
PLAN OF MANISTER ABBEY, CO. LIMERICK.

Thomas J. Westropp, 1886.



- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| A. Four Chapels. | A.4. Used for Chantillon Vault. |
| B. 'Squint' in later wall. | |
| C. Window (shown in Mr. Wakeman's drawing, now fallen). | |
| D. Four Piers of Belfry. | H. West Door. |
| E. Arch (Norman Transition). | I. Fire-place. |
| F. Later Screen Wall. | J. Gateway. |
| G. Confessional. | K. Broken Walls. |

Abbey Walls, in Black. Later, Shaded. Foundations, Outlines.



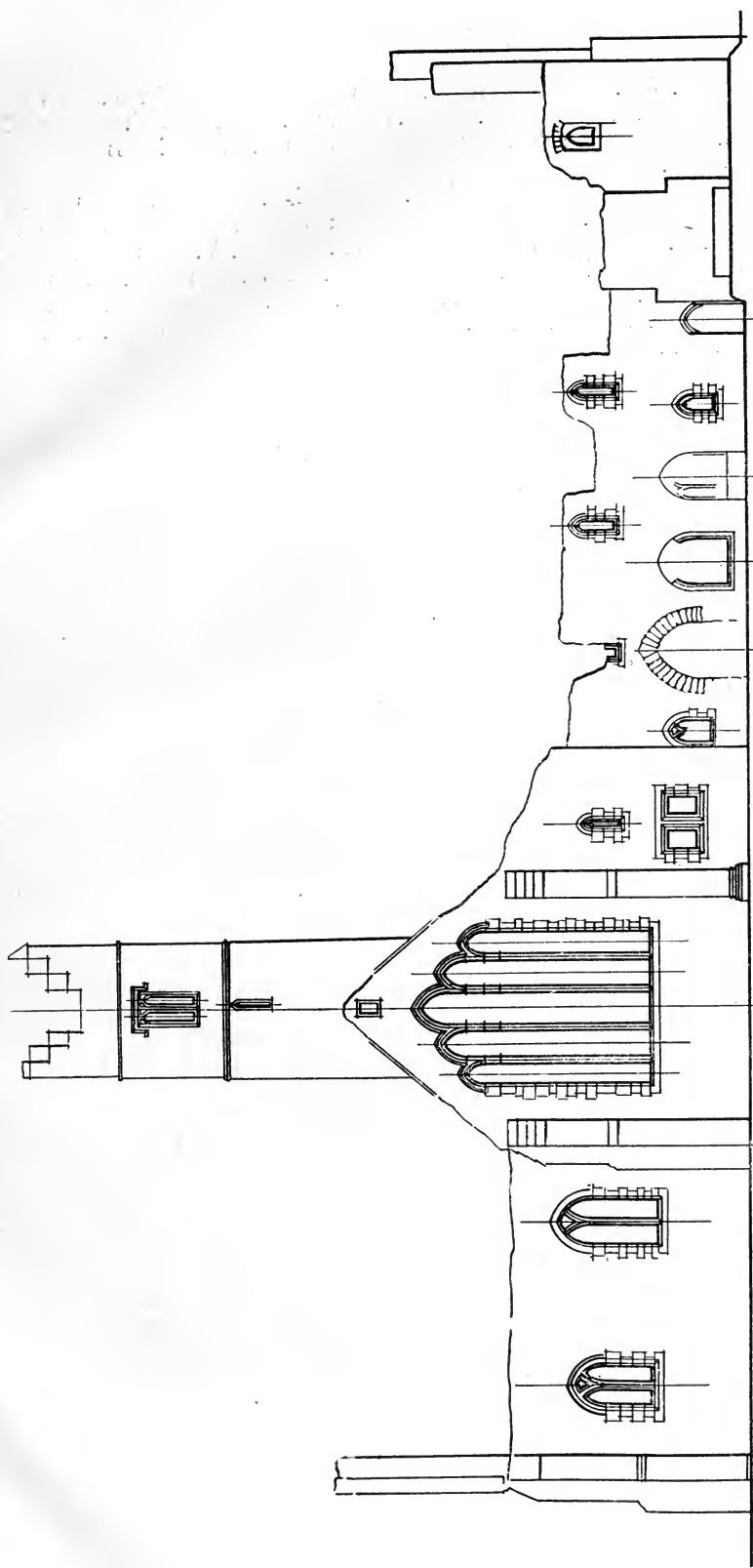
DOMINICAN PRIORY, KILMALLOCK

possessions strangely different from the older ones. The monks, as so often, held out in the building after its spoliation though it was granted more than once to English laymen. In 1579 Sir John of Desmond, with the legate, Saunders, the Abbot of Monaster, and 2,000 horse and foot, camped near the Abbey. Garrett, the "Rebel Earl" of Desmond, stayed near Tory Hill, or Dromassail, to watch how the battle might go. The formidable Sir Nicholas Malby, with only 600 foot, and apparently 450 horse, came up to the place, camped for the night, and rested his force, writing to the Earl to assist him, and waited for the attack. Sir John, his forces commanded by Spanish officers, came on resolutely on April 3rd. Malby formed a square with his baggage inside; the rebels, despite two volleys, actually brought their spearmen up to the English, when at a third volley (60 being killed and 200 mortally wounded) they turned and fled. The English having gathered a rich spoil of arms turned their cannon on the Abbey, which was full of refugees from the rebel army, and battered the cloister and refectory; at last they burst in and put to the sword the Abbot (whom they beheaded on the steps of the high altar), and some 40 monks. Manriquez, in 1642, tells how the one survivor, an aged monk, came alone, as he thought, on the eve of the Assumption to the desecrated charnel house, and, as he wept, the church filled with light and the slain arose and sang the vespers. He joined fervently till, when he uncovered his face and looked, he only saw the gory chancel and mangled corpses. I know of no record of any restoration of the Abbey. Indeed Conor O Mulrian, "Titular" Bishop of Killaloe, under a papal bull granted it to two of the O Sullivans in 1590. The belfry fell about 1807, and the lofty triple east window (which I faintly remember as standing) fell in, or not long before, 1875.

Though only the church and the south aisle and fragments of the side chapels, transept, chapter house, and other buildings remain, the foundations are well marked in the field, and show the normal Cistercian plan, a cloister with the church to the north, the Domus Conversorum to the west, the refectory and kitchen to the south, and the chapter house, parlour and day-room to the east. The details of the pillars are interesting, late Romanesque work with pointed arches in the arcades, and round-headed clerestory and west lights. The demolition of the south chapel next the chancel left the thrust of the massive stone vault unbalanced, so the whole south side and vault with the noble window fell down. The mason marks and a supposed carving of a squirrel should be examined; there are no old tombs, and most of the arches were built up to form an enlarged "ritual choir" instead of the limited chancel space sufficient for the austere service of the earlier Cistercians. The building near the river is said to have had a bell which was rung whenever a salmon got caught in the net (attached to its rope) in the adjoining stream.

The fair, or rather assembly, *aenach*, from which the place was named, was the ancient Aenach Cairbre, or Aenach Culi, the "Ena

¹ See also *Journal R. S. A.*, vol. xix, p. 232; "Eccles. Archit. Ireland" (R. R. Brash), p. 137, and Fitzgerald, *History of Limerick* (1827), p. 327. *Proc. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xxv, p. 382. Plate xi showing the chancel as sketched by J. Windele. Here repeated, p. 79.



DOMINICAN PRIORY, KILMALLOCK, EAST FRONT

culi" in John's charter. The first name appears in the list of Royal residences claimed by the King of Cashel in the Book of Rights, about A.D. 900. It possibly lay at the fort of Rathmore as suggested by Mr. Orpen.¹

Dromassel, or Tory Hill, is the Asail of the Book of Rights, and said to be called from a Firbolg tribe; a Magh nAsail is also mentioned there. It is a conspicuous land-mark in the flat country, a natural mote of barren limestone, and in a folk-tale of the type found at the Devil's Bit and Rock of Cashel is supposed to have been raised from the neighbouring lake. An ancient gold diadem was found at its foot in 1856.²

¹ *R. S. A. I.*, xxxiv, p. 34.

² *Revue Celtique*, xv, p. 481. *Agallamh, Silva Gadelica*, vol. ii, p. 201. *Plea Rolls of Edward I and II*, 1289-1311. *O'Dea's Visitation*, 1418. Sir W. Wilde's "Catalogue of Gold Antiquities," *Royal Irish Academy*, p. 24.



DYSART ROUND TOWER, CROOM

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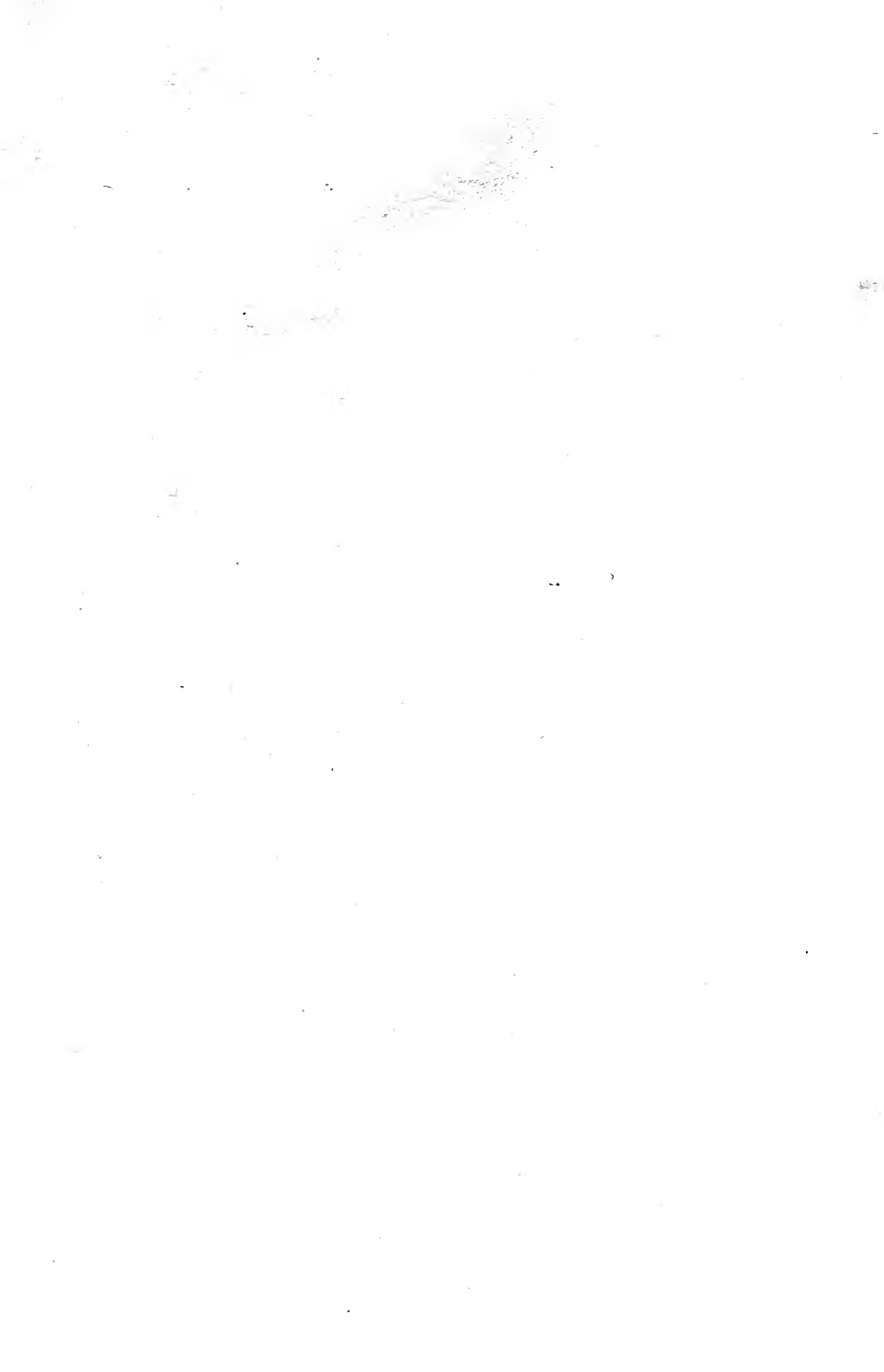
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